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# China Report

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29 September 1983

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1983

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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## HEROISM OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY AND THE NEW FOURTH ARMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 2-6

[Article by Zhu De [2612 1795]; this article was originally published in JIEFANG RIBAO in Yanan on 7 July 1944]

[Text] Relying on their imperialist military strength and in accordance with their long-premeditated scheme of aggression, Japanese bandits launched an offensive against our country, thus creating a situation in which, in the initial period of the war, the enemy was advancing while we were retreating. This enabled the enemy to brag that they were "invincible" and "all-conquering" and that they had scored "very impressive combat successes." However, our Eighth Route Army<sup>1</sup> and New Fourth Army<sup>2</sup> courageously hit out and boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines. In the Pingxing Guan Battle<sup>3</sup> the Eighth Route Army blunted the edge of the enemy's advance for the first time and thus frustrated the myth that "Japan is invincible" and built up the confidence of the Chinese people in winning victory in the protracted war of resistance. After the fall of Wuhan and, in particular, after the 100-regiment campaign<sup>4</sup>, fully aware that the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army were the "serious hidden trouble to the imperial army," the enemy still relaxed their efforts in the frontal battlefields so that they could "mop up" our base areas behind their lines with all their strength. During a long period of 5 and 1/2 years, 64 percent of the intruding enemy troops and over 90 percent of the puppet troops lay like a dead weight on the backs of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and of the people in the areas behind the enemy lines. Surrounded by an enemy blockade line of more than 11,000 km and pinned down in a "prisoner's cage" with over 10,000 strongholds and 30,000 blockhouses around it, struggling in a situation in which the enemy strictly enforced the policies of "mopping-up operations," "nibbling" at our territory, and "completely wiping out rebel forces from villages," and the policy of three atrocities--burn all, kill all, and loot all, carried out "protracted destructive mopping-up operations" and rigorously stepped up "all-out war operations" and the "campaign for tightening public security"<sup>5</sup>, and in which the enemy and puppet troops held a dominant position in both quantity and equipment and our army was isolated behind the enemy's rear and cut off from all assistance in both provisions and funds for troops and ammunitions, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army not only resisted the enemy but also turned the defensive position into an offensive one and took the

initiative to defeat and wipe out the enemy. Over the last 7 years, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army has fought 92,000 battles, big or small; killed, wounded, and captured 1.1 million men of the enemy and puppet troops; recovered large tracts of lost territory; liberated 80 million compatriots who were enslaved by the enemy; established 15 big and small anti-Japanese base areas in north, central, and south China; and organized thousands upon thousands of the masses of people and a force of 2 million militiamen under arms, thus showing to the world that the Chinese people constitute an unconquerable great force. The reason we could make the unprecedented great exploits as we have wished lies not only in the correct political line and the strategy and tactics of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army but also in the heroic spirit of our generals and rank and file soldiers of showing the utmost fortitude and defying personal danger.

However, it must be acknowledged that the recommendation of this heroic spirit of showing the utmost fortitude and defying personal danger of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army is far, far from adequate. Many people have failed to make a distinction between this new heroism and the old-type individualistic heroism and mistakenly consider that hero and heroism are old nouns and old things, and the product of the individualistic mentality of seeking publicity, striving for fame and gain, and pushing oneself forward. They consider that the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are armies led by the Communist Party and that, as worshippers of collectivism, we must not encourage so-called heroism. Under the influence of this erroneous understanding, many earthshaking heroic deeds which touch not only men, but the spirits and gods as well, and the heroes who personally performed these deeds were, as a consequence, slighted and failed to play their proper role. This can be nothing but a grave loss. Those people who cast doubt on the new heroism simply fail to understand that revolutionary heroism is a new product of the dedication of revolutionaries to the revolutionary cause and a brand-new thing which is different in principle from the old-type individualistic heroism; fail to understand that any revolutionary struggle needs revolutionary heroism and numerous revolutionary heroes who are neither intimidated by force nor subdued by wealth or rank, and who are steadfast in strained and humble circumstances and always ready to serve the people with utter devotion and to lay down their lives for the revolution; and fail to understand that the reason our troops can vanquish the enemy lies in the heroism displayed by our troops and in the efforts of our countless heroes who fight heroically regardless of personal danger.

The heroism of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army is a new, revolutionary mass heroism rather than being the old-type heroism which paid particular attention to personal interests and served the reactionary forces.

People imbued with revolutionary heroism put the interests of the revolution above everything else, have a high level of initiative and sense of responsibility to the revolution, share weal and woe in making revolution, struggle for the revolutionary cause with utter devotion all their lives,

and are not preoccupied with their personal gains and losses; they can not only sacrifice some of their interests but also lay down their lives without the slightest hesitation for the sake of the interests and the needs of the revolution. Revolution is an undertaking performed for the masses of people and also their own undertaking, and therefore revolutionary heroism is bound to be mass heroism. Mass heroism is manifested in two aspects: One aspect is that what one does is in the interests of the masses and personal interests are unconditionally subordinated to the interests of the masses and the other aspect is that one must have faith in the strength of the masses; the strength of the collective is the great force in the making of the world and history; and the strength of an individual is merely "a drop in the ocean" of this great force. New heroes come forward in the concerted actions and joint struggles of the broad masses, who are appreciated and praised by the masses and not people who proclaim themselves heroes and stand high above the masses. New heroes are also aware that they are members of the masses, a drop in the ocean of the strength of the masses and never attempt to look down on the people who are a bit less advanced than they and to envy those who are more advanced than they. They learn from each other and help each other, and really embody the collective spirit of "all for one and one for all." This is the strict distinction between the new heroism and the old-type individualistic heroism. Worshippers of the old-type individualistic heroism put personal fame, gain, and power and influence in first place rather than first making a strict demarcation between revolution and counterrevolution and they indulge in the practice of putting one individual in a supreme position and of making individuals prominent, underestimate and stand aloof from the masses, and even hoodwink and enslave the masses. These people will be inevitably cast aside by the masses and mocked by history!

The new heroism is the product of a new era and a new society and is therefore not unconnected with the leadership of the Communist Party. Only those who have a communist's noble qualities and boldness of vision can possess a thoroughgoing revolutionary viewpoint and the mass viewpoint and can conduct movements of the new heroism. All selfish exploiting classes had no courage to be geared to the needs of the revolution and of the masses and thus stifled and ruined numerous real heroes but, to the contrary, enabled many poisonous creatures who did people great harm to deck themselves as "heroes." Under the leadership of the Communist Party, all people can contribute their own talents and creativity to the cause of doing everything for the revolution and the masses as much as possible and put more energies and more and greater successes in the treasure house of the revolutionary cause, and moreover all outstanding mass heroes can be appreciated and commended and, together with the great revolutionary cause, they will be immortal forever!

The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are patriotic armies led by the CPC and are well qualified to conduct new heroic movements. Therefore, although it was far from adequate for us intentionally to launch activities in the new heroism among our troops in the past, our troops still created many unprecedented heroic deeds, and among them emerged numerous new outstanding heroes. Fighting, carrying out production, and uniting with the

masses are the three important tasks of the various troops at present and also the three major battlefields where our army conducts activities in the new heroism. In fighting, all the following battles constitute the highest embodiment of the heroism of our officers and fighters. They are the famous great victory in the Pingxing Guan campaign, the burning of enemy aircraft in Yangmingbao<sup>6</sup>, the 100-regiment campaign, which made the enemy shiver with fear, the heroic death of five warriors on the Langyashan Mountain who heroically jumped off the precipice<sup>7</sup>, the battle of entrenchment of Macheng village in which all members of the platoon died a hero's death<sup>8</sup>, the battle to defend Huangyandong<sup>9</sup>, the Huaibei region's Liulaozhuang battle in which the whole membership of a company, totaling 82 men, died for their country<sup>10</sup>, the battle of entrenchment of Nanbeidaigull<sup>11</sup>, the ambush battle of Hanlue village<sup>12</sup>, and the battle of annihilation in Zhenjiazhuang<sup>13</sup>. This heroic spirit is also shown on all fronts of production. The troops which stayed behind for garrison and liaison duties in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region turned 206,000 mu of barren hills into fertile farmland and reaped 31,000 shi of grain last year. They even plan to produce 100,000 shi of grain this year and to try to be completely sufficient in clothing, food, and housing, and not to take a grain of rice, an inch of cloth, or a penny from the common people. Frequently engaged in intense fighting, the troops on the frontline have also effected an upsurge in production. In our troops both at the front and in the rear there have repeatedly emerged labor heroes and labor heroes who are concurrently combat heroes. In the work of supporting the government and cherishing the people and of uniting the masses, there have also appeared countless exemplary deeds. Large numbers of activists have marched ahead of others. Under their influence, everybody has come to realize that the common people are the parents of the army and the correct relationship between the army and the government. Practical actions have proved that they can cherish the people and support the government just as they always do their own eyes. The example of these large groups of activists in fighting, production, and mass work has given impetus to both middle and backward elements in the troops, and the conducting of the mass movement in which they took the lead has enabled our army to make great progress in all fields of work and created a brand-new situation in all endeavors.

If asked about the questions of what party members in the army should do and where the party spirit of communists is shown, I would say: It must find expression in the heroism in fighting, production, and mass work and in their exemplary role in these three aspects. The situation is really so. The 12 warriors who persevered in the battle to defend Huangyandong were all communists; 45 percent of the total death toll of our army in Shandong Province consisted of communists; and many other combat heroes were all communists. So was the case in production and mass work. Eighty percent of the labor heroes of the troops which stayed behind for garrison and liaison duties were communists. All this is the concrete expression of the fine qualities and the strong party spirit of the members of the CPC in our army. Only our Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army, which are led by the Communist Party and in which the communists are playing an exemplary role, can conduct the new heroism movement and can build our troops into a stronger, more consolidated invincible people's army.

Experiences have proved that the new heroism movement is a very important means for us to push our work forward, to train cadres, and to educate the masses. Therefore, the party, the government, the army, the civilians, and the educational circles must conduct revolutionary competition and the new heroism movement while carrying out revolution work.

However, did we not very often call on everybody to play an exemplary role in our company work in the past? Why was the effect not great? Why could one and the same person be a model in one aspect and not be so in another or why he could be a model yesterday and not be so today? The important reason for this lies in the fact that we failed to regard the new heroism movement as an important means to promote our work, to train cadres, and to educate the masses and failed to carry out this work in an earnest and systematic way. For this reason, it is still necessary to explain the great significance of conducting the new heroism movement and to point out the matters needing attention in conducting it.

First, the new heroism movement is a mass movement whose purpose is to bring into play the initiative and creativity of the people under the guidance of a correct work orientation, to carry out a universal friendship competition among revolutionary comrades so as to establish a common practice of marching forward courageously and bring about a vigorous upsurge in realizing the objectives which can be attained at present, and to help everybody energetically and happily make more and greater contributions to the revolutionary army. Only when the broad masses are mobilized to plunge into the tide of some concrete tasks can the great strength of the masses be displayed and can numerous heroes emerge from the masses. If the masses are not aroused, and if the work remains in the hands of a tiny number of people, even if there do emerge a couple of outstanding figures from the masses, their role and significance will be very limited.

Second, the new heroism movement is an important means to unite the masses and to train cadres. In the mass movement, comrades doing leadership work must treat their subordinates in a most sincere manner, meticulously study and understand them, painstakingly train them, and help them when help is needed and reward and encourage them to make more progress when they have made achievements. Only in this way can we discover heroes from among the masses and train more very good cadres. With this group of activists, we already have the core uniting the masses. Under their influence, the broad masses can go into action in a more vigorous way. Therefore, this is a job which calls for meticulous and satisfactory arrangements and is definitely not a job which can be successfully performed in a bureaucratic manner or in the manner of carelessly and indiscriminately commending or attacking people.

Third, the new heroism movement is an important means to educate the masses and also an important means to conduct political work in the army. Educating the masses with the mass heroes whom the masses are most familiar with and with their outstanding achievements and calling on the masses to march forward with the living example of mass heroes has shattered the prattle of dogmatists and enabled our education to produce a great impact.



In our revolutionary army, everyone has a vigorous desire to do better. The responsibility of leaders is to develop and guide this desire to do better so that people can make concerted efforts in the revolutionary war. This determines that the educational methods we use in our army must be, importantly, to use good examples in educating and inspiring the masses instead of rebuking or blaming and even nearly intimidating the masses. If we can help everyone to become forward-looking and to make constant progress, this will mean we have made significant advances in our work and that we can overcome some bad tendencies in the way of our advance. However, we must all the more manage to make the new heroism movement a planned and regular practice to raise our national consciousness and class consciousness and an important means to conduct political work in our army.

It is 8 years since the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japan broke out. U.S.-British allied forces have successfully landed in the northern part of France; the summer offensive of the Soviet Red Army has, with amazing speed, smashed the German-Finnish defense line, from the Isthmus of Ka Lei Li [0595 4797 0448] to the frontline of White Russia; and the U.S. naval forces in the Pacific Ocean have broken through the interior defense line of the Japanese invaders. In the enemy rear areas in the Chinese battlefield, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army have, since last year, waged active operations and expanded the Chinese anti-Japanese base areas, whose population has grown from 50 million to 80 million people. From these events the Japanese invaders already have a strong premonition that the day of the general counteroffensive of the allied forces in the Pacific Ocean will soon come. To extricate themselves from a fatal position, the enemy is still putting up a desperate fight, using part of its army to launch attacks against our frontal battlefields. The national army in our frontal battlefields, which long neglected war preparations, was panic-stricken and, as a result, most of Henan and Hunan Provinces fell into enemy hands within no more than 2 months' time and northwest and southwest China was in danger of being swallowed by the enemy. In fact the balance of strength at that time was 10 to 1 in favor of the national army. At this gravely critical juncture, the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army are entrusted by history with more important tasks. In the great battles to defend northwest and southwest China, to check the enemy advance, and to make preparations for launching a counteroffensive against the enemy, our Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Army will increasingly become a decisive force. Our army has shouldered an important task and also achieved great military successes in the national war of resistance against Japanese aggression and in the international war against fascism and has become a heroic army. However, the present war situation requires us to undertake greater responsibilities and we are entrusted with more arduous tasks. At a time when the war of resistance against Japanese aggression has entered its 8th year and the new heroism movement has been started, our heroic generals and rank and file soldiers can surely make a more determined effort universally to launch a new heroism movement in the fields of fighting, production, and mass work, to carry out a competition in heroism in fighting, production, and mass work among different fighters, different officers, different personnel, different

departments, and different units, and to bring about a great, vigorous movement so that we can produce more army heroes and heroic deeds, further improve our work, strengthen our struggles, undertake the fighting tasks entrusted to us by the present war situation, and finally vanquish and wipe out the Japanese aggressors.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Eighth Route Army was one of the main forces of the people's army led by the CPC during the war of resistance against Japan. In accordance with the agreement reached by the KMT and the CPC through negotiations, in August 1937 the CPC redesignated the main force of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army which was founded during the period of the second revolutionary civil war as the Eighth Route Army of the national revolutionary army with Zhu De as commander in chief, Peng Dehuai as deputy commander in chief, Ye Jiangying as chief of staff, and Ren Bishi as director of the political department. The Eighth Route Army comprised the 115th, 120th, and 129th divisions. In September the same year, the Eighth Route Army was reorganized into the 18th Group Army of the national revolutionary army with Zhu De as commander in chief and Peng Dehuai as deputy commander in chief. Beginning in August and September 1937, the Eighth Route Army marched to the frontline of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, and, after it arrived there, carried out guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines in north China, independently and with the initiative in its own hands, and thus established the anti-Japanese base areas in the enemy's rear in the Shanxi-Suiyuan, Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei, and Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan border regions and in Shandong Province. During the long arduous struggle, the Eighth Route Army smashed the repeated "mopping-up operations" launched by the Japanese and puppet troops and repulsed the repeated attacks of the KMT diehards. When the Japanese imperialists surrendered in 1945, the Eighth Route Army had grown into a 1 million-strong army. During the third revolutionary civil war, the Eighth Route Army was redesignated as the Chinese PLA.
2. The New Fourth Army was one of the main forces of the people's army led by the CPC during the war of resistance against Japan. In accordance with the agreement reached by the KMT and the CPC through negotiations, in October 1937 the CPC decided to concentrate the Red Army guerrilla forces respectively operating in the eight provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, Guangdong, Hunan, Hubei, Henan, Zhejiang, and Anhui and to redesignate them as the "Newly Reorganized Fourth Army of the Ground Force of the National Revolutionary Army" with Ye Ting as army commander, Xiang Ying as deputy army commander, Zhang Yunyi as chief of staff, and Yan Guoping as director of the political department. The headquarters of the New Fourth Army was set up in January 1938, under which there were four detachments. Immediately after the establishment of its headquarters, the New Fourth Army boldly drove into the areas behind the enemy lines, conducted guerrilla warfare against Japanese aggression, and established anti-Japanese base areas in the enemy's rear in central China. After

the KMT created the Wannan (south Anhui Province) incident and declared the nullification of the New Fourth Army, the CPC Central Committee waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the KMT diehards and refounded the New Fourth Army with Chen Yi as acting army commander, Zhang Yunyi as deputy army commander, Liu Shaoqi as political commissar, Lai Zhuanzhu as chief of staff, and Deng Zihui as director of the political department, and reorganized the army into seven divisions. The New Fourth Army continued to persevere in the war of resistance and to establish, develop, and consolidate the anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear in south, central, and north Jiangsu Province, the Huainan and Huaibei regions in Anhui Province, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui border region, central Anhui Province, and east Zhejiang Province. On the eve of the surrender of the Japanese imperialists in 1945, the New Fourth Army had grown into a 300,000-strong army. During the third revolutionary civil war, the New Fourth Army was redesignated as the Chinese PLA.

3. The Pingxing Guan Battle refers to the battle in which, on 25 September 1937, the 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army ambushed the Japanese aggressor troops near Pingxing Guan in the northeastern part of Shanxi Province. In that ambush, more than 1,000 enemy troops of the 21st Regiment of the Itagaki Division--picked troops of the Japanese Army--were annihilated, and large quantities of military supplies were captured. This was the first great victory following the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan.
4. The 100-regiment campaign was a large-scale campaign launched by the Eighth Route Army in the areas behind the enemy lines in north China during the war of resistance against Japan. From 20 August to 5 December 1940, with the cooperation of the vast numbers of militiamen and the masses of people, dispatching more than 100 regiments totaling 400,000 men, the Eighth Route Army launched assaults on the main communications arteries in the areas behind the enemy lines in north China and, in coordination with the army and the people in various base areas, carried out operations against the enemy's "mopping-up operations." This campaign lasted for 3 and 1/3 months, with more than 1,800 battles, big or small, being fought, more than 2,900 enemy strongholds captured, and more than 46,000 men of the Japanese and puppet troops annihilated.
5. "Tightening public security" was a fascist measure adopted by the Japanese imperialists to expand and enforce their rule in north China. From spring 1941 to winter 1942, the Japanese aggressors conducted in succession five "campaigns for tightening public security" in north China, intensified their "mopping-up operations" against the anti-Japanese base areas, launched "large-scale activities in reporting rebel forces to the authorities" in the guerrilla areas, and established the neighborhood guarantee system, made house-to-house checkups, and organized puppet troops for the purpose of suppressing the anti-Japanese forces.



6. The burning of enemy aircraft in Yangmingbao refers to the battle in which the Eighth Route Army raided the airport of the Japanese aggressor troops in Daixian County's Yangmingbao in Shanxi Province. On 19 October 1937, in coordination with the First and Second Battalions and with the help of the local masses, the Third Battalion of the 769th Regiment of the Eighth Route Army's 129th Division secretly crossed the Hutuo River and sneaked at night into the Japanese Army's airport in Yangmingbao, and launched a sudden assault on it. Through 1 hour of fierce fighting, 24 enemy aircraft were burned and more than 100 men of the Japanese Army were annihilated.
7. The heroic death of five warriors on the Langyashan Mountain who heroically jumped off the precipice refers to the heroic fighting deeds of five Eighth Route Army fighters who checked the Japanese invading army on the Langyashan Mountain of Hebei Province's Yixian County. On 25 September 1941, with a force of 3,000 or so men, the Japanese Army launched an attack on the Langyashan Mountain, in an attempt to lay siege to it, and the 7th Company of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei army unit's 1st Regiment took on the task of checking the enemy in order to protect the transfer of the main force of the army, local organizations, and the masses. After fighting hard for a whole day and killing more than 90 enemy troops, the company's squad leader Mao Baoyu, deputy squad leader Ge Zhenlin, and fighters Hu Delin, Hu Fucui, and Song Xueyi, five in all, drew the enemy to a sheer precipice of their own accord. With bullets used up, they preferred to die rather than surrender and finally they threw themselves down the precipice. Ma Baoyu, Hu Delin, and Hu Fucui died heroic deaths and Ge Zhenlin and Song Xueyi, who happened to get caught on the branches of trees halfway down the mountain, managed to escape danger and to rejoin their unit with wounds.
8. The battle of entrenchment of Macheng village refers to the battle in which, in 1942, a platoon of the Eighth Route Army operating in the Hebei-Shandong-Henan border region held Macheng village. On 3 March, with the support of tanks and armored cars, more than 3,000 Japanese aggressor troops encircled the village. The fighters of the platoon fought fiercely for half a day and destroyed several enemy tanks and killed and wounded large numbers of enemy troops. Finally, all the fighters died heroes' deaths after running out of ammunition and all supplies.
9. The battle to defend Huangyandong refers to the battle in which the Eighth Route Army defended the Huangyandong ordnance factory located in Shanxi Province's Licheng. On 9 November 1941, with a force of 4,000 to 5,000 men, the Japanese invading army laid siege to the areas of Huangyandong and Shuiyao. Relying on the natural mountain barriers, the Eighth Route Army's special regiment in charge of the factory's security and more than 1,000 staff members and workers of the factory fought hand-to-hand with the enemy many times, repulsed in succession dozens of enemy assaults, and, after battling heroically in blood for 8 days and nights and killing and wounding enemy troops in

large quantities, evacuated the areas. Several days later, in coordination with other troops and militiamen, they recovered the lost areas and wiped out altogether more than 1,000 of the enemy troops.

10. The Huaibei region's Liulaozhuang battle refers to the battle waged by the New Fourth Army in Liulaozhuang, north of Jiangsu Province's Huaiyin, against the Japanese aggressor troops. In February 1943, more than 14,000 Japanese and puppet troops launched "mopping-up operations" against the area of Huaiyin, and all troops under the New Fourth Army's 3d Division began to conduct operations to counter the "mopping-up operations" and forced the enemy troops to retreat. On 18 March, the 4th Company of the 19th Regiment of this division's 7th Brigade encountered the joint attack of 1,000-odd enemy troops in Liulaozhuang. The company's 82 officers and fighters battled fiercely for a whole day and annihilated more than 170 enemy troops. Finally, under the bombardment of heavy enemy shellfire, all officers and fighters of the company heroically gave up their lives.
11. The battle of entrenchment of Nanbeidaigu refers to the battle in which the Eighth Route Army resisted the attacks launched by the Japanese aggressor troops on Nanbeidaigu of Yimeng Mountain area in Shandong Province. In November 1943, more than 10,000 Japanese and puppet troops conducted "mopping-up operations" against the anti-Japanese base areas in central Shandong Province. Relying on natural mountain barriers on Nanbeidaigu, northwest of the Yishui River, 93 men of the Eighth Company of the Eighth Route Army central Shandong military region's 11th Regiment, operating on interior lines, tenaciously defended their positions for 18 days, resisted the continuous attacks launched by more than 2,000 Japanese and puppet troops supported by aircraft and cannon, and won victory in the battle by killing and wounding over 300 of the enemy troops at very little cost, and thus energetically supported our troops fighting on exterior lines.
12. The ambush battle of Hanlue village refers to the battle in which the Eighth Route Army ambushed the Japanese invading army in Hanlue village northeast of Lingfen in Shanxi Province. In October 1943, the Japanese Army concentrated large numbers of troops to launch "mopping-up operations" against the Taiyue anti-Japanese base area in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan border region, and, at the same time, concentrated 100 officers or so from all localities in north China to organize a "field battle-watching group" to go to Taiyue to see the fighting there. The 16th Regiment of the Eighth Route Army Taiyue military region laid an ambush in Hanlue village, and waged a sudden and vigorous offensive against the enemy when 13 cars, carrying members of the "field battle-watching group" entered the ambush ring. Through a 3-hour fierce battle, all enemy troops were annihilated excepting three who succeeded in escaping.
13. The battle of annihilation in Zhenjiazhuang refers to the battle in which the Eighth Route Army surrounded and annihilated the Japanese aggressor troops in Zhenjiazhuang in Shanxi Province's Xingxian County.

In September 1943, with a force of 2,000 or so men, the Japanese Army's 3d Mixed Brigade and 59th Brigade repeatedly launched "mopping-up operations" against Xingxian County and Baode Prefecture. The troops of the Eighth Route Army Shanxi-Suiyuan military region which took part in the battle besieged the 85th Group of the enemy 59th Brigade in the area of Zhenjiazhuang, and after battling for 7 days and nights, wiped out more than 800 enemy troops and captured large quantities of weapons and equipment.

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COMRADE ZHU DE'S OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAO ZEDONG'S MILITARY THINKING--WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF ZHU DE'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 7-12, 16

[Article by Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807]]

[Text] The long-hoped-for "Selected Works of Zhu De" is being published today, on the 56th anniversary of the PLA. This is of great importance to our study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, to inheriting and carrying forward the fine traditions of our party and army, and to building up a modern and regular revolutionary army.

Comrade Zhu De was a great Marxist, proletarian revolutionary, and strategist. Waging valiant struggles, he selflessly contributed his whole life to the emancipation of the Chinese people and the victory of communism. He achieved immortal deeds for the party and people and made worthy contributions to Mao Zedong Thought, particularly to the formation and development of Mao Zedong's military thinking. The military writings included in the "Selected Works of Zhu De" embody Comrade Zhu De's great practice of building a people's army and winning victory in people's war, and reflect that his talent in command and rich experiences in army building are an important part of Mao Zedong's military thinking.

On the Road of Armed Struggles

After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the communists, of whom Comrade Mao Zedong was the main representative, finally created the correct road of encircling cities from rural areas and seizing power by armed force through their effort of combining the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the specific law of the Chinese revolution. Speaking on the significance of this matter, Comrade Hu Yaobang points out: "If we had failed to trudge along this road, but had rigidly adhered to the method of fomenting armed uprisings to seize power in cities, which was then a traditional mold of engineering revolution in Europe, then what would have happened? There would have been no victory for the Chinese revolution." However, Comrade Zhu De made outstanding contributions in creating the correct road of waging armed struggles. After the failure of the Nanchang Uprising, Zhu De, Chen Yi, and some other comrades assembled the remaining

forces of the uprising and fought hard in one place and another along the border areas of Hunan, Guangdong, and Jiangxi Provinces. At that time, the revolution was at a low ebb and our forces were exposed to enemy attacks on all sides. In order to preserve the forces, which were, in fact, on the brink of being defeated and dispersed, and to wage new revolutionary struggle, Comrade Zhu De consolidated the forces three times in succession in Xinwei, Dageng, and Shangbao.

In the face of such a situation, Comrade Zhu De was resolved to sum up experiences, either positive or negative. In doing so, he fostered many important concepts, such as combining the revolutionary army with the worker-peasant movement to gain a foothold in the countryside, fighting a guerrilla war in mountain terrain, and making use of the contradictions among the warlords and organizing the united front while expanding the revolutionary forces.

By taking the advantage of tangled warfare among warlords, Comrade Zhu De led the forces to mobilize the masses and fight a guerrilla war in mountain areas along the borders of three provinces--Hunan, Guangdong, and Jiangxi. In order to reorganize and bring the forces to full strength, he organized the united front in the KMT's 16th Army through his schoolmate, Fan Shisheng. In January 1928, he staged an uprising in south Hunan Province.

Finally revolutionary regimes were established in many places by overthrowing the local tyrants and evil gentry and dividing land among peasants, and very soon the revolutionary forces were known far and wide in south China. Recalling this part of history, Comrade Zhu De wrote in an article: "When retreating from Fujian to Jiangxi, we were forced to occupy some important mountain terrain in order to carry out guerrilla operations. However, this became a good thing for us, because from then on, we began to follow a correct direction--fighting a guerrilla war. We gave up the method of taking large cities, but almost entirely staged uprisings and set up revolutionary base areas by arousing and relying on the masses." ("Selected Works of Zhu De," p 125)

Some concepts of foresight and sagacity that Comrade Zhu De expressed then were in conformity with the substance of the concept of "establishing the independent regime of armed workers and peasants" which was systematically explained by Comrade Mao Zedong in his writings "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" and "The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains." This shows that Comrade Zhu De already had a clearly defined purpose when he decided to take the road of the Jinggang Mountains.

After effecting a junction in the Jinggang Mountains, under the leadership of Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Mao Zedong, the 4th Army of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army embarked on setting up revolutionary base areas and carrying out the agrarian revolution and armed struggles. In the course of the process, they further enriched and refined the concept of encircling cities from rural areas and seizing power by armed force. In summing up experiences gained in the revolutionary struggles following the

Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and the Guangzhou Uprising, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The kind of policy adopted by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and also by Fang Zhimin is undoubtedly correct, that is, the policy of establishing base areas, of systematically setting up political power, of deepening the agrarian revolution, and of expanding the people's armed forces." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 95)

#### On the Building of People's Army

Comrade Zhu De was one of the principal founders of the people's army led by our party. He witnessed the whole course of the development of the army--growing out of nothing and going from small to large and from weak to strong. He made outstanding contributions in creating and building a new-type people's army and accumulated abundant experiences in the building of our army. Among the articles selected in the book are "How To Create an Iron Red Army," "On Battlefields in Liberated Areas," and "Unifying Plans of Training and Speeding Up the Modernization and Regularization of Our Army." These articles were, in fact, a scientific summation of his experiences in building our army in different stages of history and added significant content to Comrade Mao Zedong's concept concerning the building of the people's armed forces.

After arriving in the Jinggang Mountains, the Red Army grew strong with each passing day. It achieved a great deal of new experiences in building up the army, but it also encountered some new problems. Controversy arose from the problems such as what type of an army should be established and how to build such an army. In order to solve these problems, the ninth party congress of the 4th Army of the Red Army was held at the end of 1929, presided over by Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Chen Yi, and other comrades. At the meeting, a resolution known as the "Gutian Congress Resolution" was adopted. This programmatic document, which was based on the spirit of a letter sent by the Central Committee in September 1929, summed up the experiences gained by the Red Army in the 2 years after its founding and also laid a foundation for building a real people's army. In order to repudiate the attack made by liquidationist Chen Duxiu against the Red Army and to strengthen the building of the Red Army, the article entitled "How To Create an Iron Red Army," written by Comrade Zhu De, was published in July 1931. This was an important article on the building of the Red Army, which specified six established conditions for the Red Army: 1) "The Red Army is an army belonging to workers and peasants." "Its historical tasks are to seize political power, to establish and consolidate the soviet regime of workers and peasants, and to help the proletarian and all laboring people free themselves politically and economically." 2) The Red Army "must be unreservedly subject to the leadership of the CPC" and must establish the system of political commissars and political work. 3) The main task of political training in the Red Army is "to help commanders and fighters raise their level of proletarian consciousness." 4) Attention must be paid to "raising the level of military capability and tactics and learning to use new weapons." 5) It is necessary "conscientiously to observe strict discipline." 6) "Commanding must be concentrated and training must be unified." This article firmly adhered to the spirit of the Gutian congress,

summed up new experiences gained in building the army after the Gutian congress, and particularly defined the raising of the level of military capability as one of the established conditions for the Red Army. This was an important supplement to and development of the Gutian Congress Resolution and further defined the way forward for the Red Army at that time.

Comrade Zhu De's military writings reflect another of his distinctive characteristics--that he always persisted in the principle of seeking truth from facts and that he knew well to critically assimilate the experiences of army building at all times and in all countries. Comrade Zhu De had 14 years of experience in the armies of the old types and also studied military affairs in Germany and the Soviet Union. What is commendable is that this experience had not become a "load" in his progress, but helped him considerably. On the question of army building, he resolutely refused all rules and regulations governing the armies of the old types, and also categorically opposed the dogmatic attitude that our army "must become one which is completely the same as the Red Army of the Soviet Union." He made sustained efforts to build our army into a people's army with distinctive Chinese characteristics in line with the actual situation of the Chinese revolution. In the important historical document "On Battlefields in Liberated Areas," Comrade Zhu De summed up the rich experiences of Chinese people in waging armed struggles during the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion, expounded on the people's war and the building of a people's army, and systematically programmed the principles of building our army. By comparing the people's army with an army not belonging to the people, or even opposing them, he profoundly analyzed the marked differences of these two armies regarding army building, the system of military service, the methods of maintaining, leading, training, and commanding an army, and also the political work. Comrade Zhu De pointed out that our army was an army with three major characteristics--nationality, people, and democracy--and its principle was "proceeding from the interests of the people and serving the people." Only such an army was a real people's army and an army with a high level of political consciousness and high combat effectiveness. Precisely as Comrade Chen Yi said, Comrade Zhu De's report was a "very clear explanation and development" of Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking.

#### On the Ideology of People's War

People's war can be waged only by relying on the masses. This was the major guiding ideology of Comrade Zhu De when he studied and guided the Chinese revolutionary war, and it is reflected in many of his military writings and his rich combat practice.

During the period from the failure of the Nanchang Uprising to the arrival in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Zhu De gradually realized in practice that the party-led armed struggles must be integrated with the peasant movement and adopt the form of arousing the peasants to fight a guerrilla war. On the way to the Jinggang Mountains, he sent detachments to every place they passed in order to carry out propaganda among the local people



and to mobilize and arm them. As a result, when the original 1,000 troops and more finally arrived in the mountains, the force had multiplied tenfold. After arriving in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Zhu De worked together with Comrade Mao Zedong to widely organize people's armed forces such as Red Guards and worker-peasant rebellion groups, with the result that the revolutionary struggle in the Jinggang Mountains had become an extensive people's war and the Red Army had grown into a force of tens of thousands of troops. This rendered effective help in smashing the counter-revolutionary encirclement and suppression campaign launched by Chiang Kai-shek. In summing up the experiences in smashing the first, second, and third encirclement and suppression campaigns, Comrade Zhu De pointed out that the "main point was relying on the masses" and that "only by relying on the masses and the revolutionary base areas would it be possible for us to lure the enemy in deep and annihilate them in large numbers." ("Selected Works of Zhu De," pp 130-131)

The war of resistance against the Japanese invasion under the leadership of our party was a real and overall people's war. At the outset of the war, the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong punctually put forward the strategic policy that "we must independently carry out guerrilla operations in mountain areas" and that "based on guerrilla warfare, we should also make the opportunity to launch mobile war." However, a small number of people represented by Wang Ming opposed this correct policy at that time. These people failed to realize the importance of people's guerrilla warfare and pinned hope on regular warfare, especially on the military operations of the KMT troops. Therefore, whether we could persevere in people's guerrilla warfare or not was a problem which would affect the success or failure of the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion.

To cope with this problem, Comrade Zhu De began to publish in succession his important article "On the Guerrilla War in Resistance Against the Japanese Invasion" in early 1938. With the Marxist viewpoint on wars, he analyzed penetratingly the country's political and economic situation, manpower, weaponry, and transportation (including topography) as the five essential factors in carrying out guerrilla operations in the anti-Japanese war. He also explained that the substance of the war "was a war of militia, waged by the general public, and the secret lay in a mass movement, which was a mass self-defense armed struggle against the Japanese invasion." Such a mass armed struggle must be based on the system of coordination in three respects; that is, the coordination between field army and local army, between army and militia, and between armed people and ordinary people, thus creating a situation in which the army and people were all mobilized to wage a people's war. At the same time, he also called on all leaders to be sober-minded politically and to integrate military operations closely with political struggle, economic struggle, and ideological struggle so as to give full scope to the great role of people's war. This article by Comrade Zhu De, which added radiance to Comrade Mao Zedong's two articles--"Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan" and "On Protracted War"--published in May 1938, played an important role of guidance in stimulating people's confidence in the anti-Japanese war and developing guerrilla operations against Japan in the areas behind enemy lines.



During the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion, Comrade Zhu De led the Eighth Route Army to wage hard and marvelous struggles against Japan and the puppet regime in northern China through the effort of mobilizing the masses and carrying out guerrilla operations. Under the leadership of Comrade Zhu De, the Eighth Route Army attached great importance to developing militia forces in the war by sending a large number of cadres to organize and train the militia and by providing them with large quantities of weapons and equipment. The broad spectrum of militiamen created various kinds of ever-changing military tactics of guerrilla warfare such as mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sparrow warfare, sabotage operations, investment warfare, and guerrilla operations in water. They ambushed the enemy mysteriously, sabotaged the transportation and telecommunications of the enemy troops, and destroyed warehouses in the enemy's rear bases, thus successfully cooperating with the main force of our army in military operations and "becoming a giant reserve army in the protracted and large-scale war in the areas behind the enemy lines." Within only 3 years, liberated areas had been largely expanded in northern China, the Eighth Route Army had grown rapidly from the original several ten thousand troops to a total of 400,000, and splendid results had been achieved on the battlefields of the people's war.

The unique practice of Comrade Zhu De in the people's war and his high condensation of his own practical experiences in this field made outstanding contributions in winning victory in the people's war and also enriched and refined the ideology of people's war. They are the most valuable wealth for us when we learn and study the ideology of people's war.

#### On Strategy and Tactics for the People's War

Comrade Zhu De pointed out: "In his military works, Comrade Mao Zedong has developed the theoretical foundation and methodology of Marxist-Leninist military science, which can be said to be military dialectics." ("The Prairie Fire That Starts From a Single Spark," Vol 1, p 4) Similarly, Comrade Zhu De's military works also display this characteristic.

In his works, Comrade Zhu De repeatedly stressed this point: "A commander of the Red Army should study and apply tactics according to materialist dialectics. He should first be aware that things are always changing and that the situation is undergoing a myriad of changes. He must never command the army according to some rigid dogmas." He explained our army's principle for commanding the troops in simple language: "We should decide what battle we shall fight according to what guns we have, what enemy we are faced with, and at what time and in what place we shall fight the battle." He said: "This is the new method of directing military operations in accordance with the materialist line of seeking truth from facts." For several decades, Comrade Zhu De assisted Comrade Mao Zedong in commanding the people's army and acted on the military stage in an earth-shaking, heroic spirit, taking part in directing the performance of many living dramas of the revolutionary war, which were full of power and grandeur.

Here, I would like to use the tactics for guerrilla war and for battles of storming heavily fortified enemy positions as two examples to explain Comrade Zhu De's original contributions to the formation and development of the strategy and tactics of the people's war.

After the Nanchang Uprising failed, our army was situated at a critical moment of shifting its tactics of regular war to guerrilla war. Comrade Zhu De successfully led the army to effect this strategic change. This was inseparable from his experience in war practice. He was well-known for being good at directing guerrilla war in the battles against feudal warlords in the early years of this century. Afterward, when recalling this experience, he said: "As for guerrilla war, I still have some old experience. In the past, I fought the northern warlords in Sichuan and Yunnan for 10 years after the 1911 Revolution and often defeated the enemy, who had more troops than we. The major military experience was to adopt the tactics of guerrilla war. Later on, when studying military science in Moscow, an instructor asked me how to fight a battle after returning to China. I answered: 'Fight when I can win, and move away when I cannot win. If necessary, I will lead my troops to build a base in a mountainous area.' At that time, I was criticized for so saying. In fact, that was an idea of fighting a guerrilla war. Therefore, I have played a little leading role on this point." ("Selected Works of Zhu De," p 126) In the struggles in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Zhu De, by closely cooperating with Comrade Mao Zedong, directed the troops to carry out a guerrilla war and successfully smashed many campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the enemy. These victories brought about the heyday of the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base. The tactics and strategy of guerrilla war were then further developed in the prolonged revolutionary war and particularly in the anti-Japanese war.

In 1947, a historical change appeared in the situation of the war of liberation. Our army changed from its strategic defensive position to a strategic offensive position, and the war was mainly fought in the regions ruled by the KMT. Seizing large and medium-sized cities where the enemy was entrenched thus became a new problem that urgently needed to be solved.

In order to solve this problem, Comrade Zhu De personally went to the frontline. He took part in interrogating prisoners of war, investigating the enemy's deployment and activities, and studying our army's battle plans. He organized the troops to practice tactics for storming heavily fortified positions of the enemy by giving democratic rights to all soldiers and commanders in making preparations for the battles. He also took part in the work of the frontline command in the battle fought in Shijiazhuang. After this battle, he took 4 days to talk with more than 30 cadres and soldiers who had participated in the battle so as to make a study of the tactics used in this battle. The article entitled "The Significance of Capturing Shijiazhuang and the Positive and Negative Experiences in This Battle" which has been included in the "Selected Works" represented his summing up of the tactics for storming heavily fortified enemy positions on the basis of investigations and studies. The whole set of tactics included successive demolitions, tunnel operations, trench operations, the

concentration of forces and fire, making a breakthrough on a defense line, and penetrating and cutting up the enemy forces. These tactics, summed up by Comrade Zhu De, were then rapidly adopted on all battlefields, and the adoption of these tactics speeded up the process of the war.

During the Shijiazhuang battle, Commander in Chief Zhu came to our unit, so I had an opportunity to personally hear his instructions and to learn from his great practice. I was then deeply impressed and inspired by his brilliant military talent and his scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. He paid great importance to the experience gained from this battle, saying that the battle was the first successful trial of our army in attacking and capturing a large city. He said: In the military area, "the most important thing we have learned from this battle is that we have improved our tactics and have learned how to attack a major city heavily fortified by the enemy." After the battle finished, Commander in Chief Zhu personally participated in our meeting on reviewing the battle and summing up the experience. He gave us many important instructions at the meeting and told me to continue to collect data, sum up experience, compile a booklet so as to guide battles afterward. In that period, he wrote a poem:

A stone gate blocked the way to the Taihang Mountains,  
Brave soldiers broke it open in a short moment.  
A key town was recovered with a whole division of the enemy being wiped out,  
Hu and Ma were not allowed to return to Qinguan.  
Tactics of storming fortified positions open up a new phase,  
People amidst sufferings can finally show their smiling faces.  
Heroes in our party come forth in large numbers,  
I will never be worried about my grizzled hair.

This poem fully demonstrated Comrade Zhu De's contributions to the development of the tactics of our army and his joyful feelings toward the victorious development of the people's liberation cause.

#### On the Building of a Modern, Regular Revolutionary Army

After the founding of the PRC, the building of our army entered a new stage. Comrade Zhu De was extremely concerned about and actively promoted the modernization and regularization of our army. He put forward a series of correct principles and policies which served as a guideline for the new strategic change in our army.

The article entitled "Working Out a Unified Training Plan, Speeding Up the Process of Modernizing and Regularizing Our Army" and other articles in the "Selected Works" deal with many important issues concerning the modernization and regularization of our army. These issues include the measures for strengthening training under a unified plan; the ways to master modern weaponry and equipment and to conduct combined operations of various arms of the services; the studies of enemy armed forces, strategy, and tactics so as to enhance the level of military theoretical attainment; the steps for reorganizing the army and streamlining leading organs and leadership

structure of the army; the methods of combining political and ideological work among the troops with professional and technical work; and the measures for improving army schools and military institutes so as to train large numbers of cadres with both political integrity and ability who are suited to the needs of building a modern army.

Comrade Zhu De repeatedly emphasized: "In the course of modernization and regularization, we cannot give up our fine traditions, nor can we be confined to our previous experience." He said: We must maintain the party's leadership over the army and maintain the fine tradition of carrying out political work among the troops, while political work should be adapted to the new conditions and should serve the central work of the army. That is to say, "political work should be properly combined with technical work" so as to ensure the fulfillment of all tasks. (Ibid., pp 304, 275)

Comrade Zhu De considered conducting military training with high quality and mastering modern science and technology as the task of primary importance for the whole army and as the task having a bearing on the overall situation. He pointed out: "Future wars will involve large quantities of military technology and modern weaponry and equipment and will involve large numbers of military personnel. If we do not master sophisticated weapons and techniques and do not learn how to direct combined operations of various armed services, we will not be able to defeat the enemy." "It is absolutely necessary" to study and master scientific and general knowledge in order to build a modern revolutionary army and to build and defend our motherland. Therefore, "our armymen in all fields must be proficient in the skills, and all commanders must have good mastery over the modern art of war and must be good at organizing planned battles. So long as they combine their bravery with their miraculous skills, they will be invincible." He required all cadres, especially those at and above the regimental level, to "pledge themselves in the name of their party membership to going all out to study professional and technical knowledge and to make themselves specialists." (Ibid., pp 305, 311, 306, and 309)

Comrade Zhu De paid great importance to the building of military institutes of our army. He repeatedly stressed the significance of "running the school well and training more qualified personnel." He said: "Without a large number of military commanders and political cadres who are suited to the requirements of a modern army, it is impossible to build a strong modern army. All military institutes and schools should clearly realize their important responsibility for training cadres needed in the building of a modern army and in realizing defense modernization." (Ibid., p 326) He ordered that all regular military institutes must "have regular and unified plans and systems and have perfect teaching facilities. The time of study should be fairly long. Teaching quality must be guaranteed." Cadres who graduate from these schools must have both political integrity and professional ability, must work most faithfully for defending the socialist cause, and must have an ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism and have modern military scientific knowledge and general knowledge. He said: "So long as we have a large number of cadres with both political integrity and professional ability in our ground forces,

navy, and air force, with the efforts of the whole army and under the leadership of the party, we will certainly succeed in building a strong and modern revolutionary army." (Ibid., p 326)

Great theory derives from great practice. The fundamental reason why Comrade Zhu De could make brilliant contributions as we have mentioned above to the formation and development of Mao Zedong military thinking is that he took an active part in the practice of the Chinese people's revolutionary war. Comrade Zhu De lived in the times when drastic changes occurred in China's social system and when revolutionary armed struggles against aggression and armed counterrevolution were carried out intensely. The revolutionary wars waged by the Chinese people in modern history, especially the people's revolutionary war led by the CPC, involved hundreds of millions of people in a big eastern country which was once a semifeudal and semicolonial country. The large scale, the long duration, and the complicated conditions of these wars were all seldom seen in the war history of the world. Comrade Zhu De led a militant life under these circumstances, and he experienced, together with the Chinese people, the revolutionary wars which lasted for nearly half a century. He took part in all important revolutionary wars in modern Chinese history, including the 1911 Revolution, the Yunnan Uprising, the Northern Expedition, the agrarian revolutionary war, the anti-Japanese war, the liberation war, and the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. He always stood in the forefront of all these struggles and acted as one of the major founders of the people's army, one of the major leaders who led the revolutionary wars to victory, and the commander in chief esteemed and loved by the whole party, the whole army, and the people throughout the country. In the protracted war practice and in the joint efforts of the whole party and the people, he participated in repeated trials of strength with various enemies and fully displayed his brilliant military talent and rich experience in directing wars.

Comrade Zhu De could make such brilliant contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong military thinking also because he had a staunch and unswerving revolutionary spirit and a scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. In the several decades of arduous struggles, no matter whether facing strong domestic and foreign enemies or facing of unimaginable difficulties and obstacles, Comrade Zhu De always displayed a proletarian revolutionary's dauntless heroism and unusual courage and resourcefulness. Even when the revolution suffered serious setbacks and failures, he still firmly believed in the inevitable victory of the revolution, still made scientific analysis of the situation, and still maintained unflagging revolutionary enthusiasm and optimism. He not only earnestly studied Marxist-Leninist military science, but also seriously studied all military theory, strategy, and tactics at all times and in all countries. He applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to seek the special laws governing the revolutionary wars in China and continuously summed up experience in the practice of building a revolutionary army and directing battles so as to raise the experience to the high plane of theory. The fundamental characteristic of Comrade Zhu De's military practice and theory is the unity of revolution and science and the unity of theory and

practice. This Marxist spirit of creativity is also the fundamental characteristic of Comrade Mao Zedong's military practice and theory. On this basic point, they are completely identical.

Comrade Zhu De's military works are valuable theoretical wealth he left to us. It not only has played a great guiding role in our army's organization and operations in the past, but will also be of great significance in guiding our army to develop itself and to operate in the new historical period. We should seriously study Comrade Zhu De's military works, study the strategy and tactics of the people's war and the thinking of people's army and people's war. In particular, we should study his staunch revolutionary spirit and scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts, study the new problems and new matters in building the army and directing battles under the new historical conditions so as to create a new situation in making our army a modern, regular, and revolutionary army.

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THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY THINKING WHICH IS RICH WITH CHINA'S  
CHARACTERISTICS--UNDERSTANDING GAINED THROUGH STUDYING 'SELECTED WORKS OF  
ZHU DE'

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[Article by Fu Zhong [0265 6988]]

[Text] After joining forces in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Zhu De and Comrade Mao Zedong fought side by side. Throughout the long and winding course of China's revolutionary war, the glorious names of Mao Zedong and Zhu De were always tightly linked together. Comrade Zhu De had summarized his experience with Comrade Mao Zedong. They proceeded from China's national conditions in combining the universal principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and in opening up a vista in Chinese style for the armed seizure of political power, which means the vista for turning disastrous defeats in the revolution into victories by using the countryside to surround the cities. The "Selected Works of Zhu De," which has come off press by now, reflects Comrade Zhu De's contributions to the theory and practice of revolution. His writings on people's war and the building of people's army and many of Comrade Mao Zedong's writings add radiance to each other. Such works constitute important elements of Mao Zedong Thought.

To seek truth from facts, to follow the mass line, to maintain independence, to keep the initiative in our own hands, and to rely on our own efforts are the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. All this has been displayed in Comrade Zhu De's writings and in his revolutionary practice. In handling the series of problems concerning the building of a revolutionary army and military strategy, Comrade Zhu De had discarded book worship and the practice of indiscriminately copying from foreign countries. He resolutely took his own road and creatively sought, explored, and gradually formed the thinking on people's army and people's war and the flexible strategy and tactics which are rich with Chinese characteristics.

I

Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago: "A clear understanding of the nature of Chinese society, that is, of Chinese conditions, is, therefore, the key to a clear understanding of all the problems of the revolution." ("Selected



Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 596) China as an objective world should be understood by the Chinese people. In his "On the Front of the Liberated Areas," a military report to the Seventh CPC National Congress, Comrade Zhu De brilliantly discussed the need for the Chinese revolution to proceed from the national conditions of China. He said that whenever people talk about military theories, some people will show off their high sounding knowledge acquired in the military academies and others will quote extensively from the war histories of other countries. It is a pity that such theories may not be in keeping with the practice of the Chinese people. No doubt, we should draw lessons from the experience and military theories of other countries, however, we should not copy mechanically or regard them as unalterable dogmas. He pointed out in another article that: "The characteristic of dogmatism is not to proceed from reality and the Chinese conditions but from the conditions of the Soviet Union and from wishful thinking. People do not realize that it is absolutely impossible to make our army and the Red Army of the Soviet Union be exactly alike." ("Selected Works of Zhu De," p 132)

Comrade Zhu De paid close attention to the study of the national conditions of China and the probe into the specific laws governing the Chinese revolution and China's revolutionary war. In the early 1920's, in order to study Marxism and to seek the vista for the Chinese revolution, he traveled all the way across the oceans to Germany. At that time, he was in Berlin and I was in Paris. Both of us were under the general CPC branch in Europe. In the eyes of young people like us, he was a hard-working man in search of the vista for the Chinese revolution. In 1936, I met him for the first time. At that time, he was receiving training in military affairs in the suburban areas of Moscow. The instructor asked him how he would fight the war after returning to China. He answered: "My strategy is to continue to fight if I can beat the enemy and to escape if I cannot. I will lead my men to hide in the mountains as I see fit." The instructor was dissatisfied with his answer and criticized him. In fact, his compendious answer precisely embodied the thinking on guerrilla warfare which proceeds from the actual situation of the Chinese revolution in which the enemy was strong but we were weak, and in which we used flexible strategy and tactics. At that time, our party was in its infancy and we were far from mature. Within the party, there was a popular tendency to dogmatize Marxism and to regard as sacred the experience of the Soviet Union and the resolutions adopted by the Comintern. Although Comrade Zhu De was in a foreign country, he was concerned with the national conditions of China. He did not mechanically apply the war experience of foreign countries and the theories of revolution which he had mastered in foreign countries to China. On the contrary, he did things according to the national conditions of China in a practical and realistic manner. At that time, people were greatly influenced by the traditional pattern of revolution in modern Europe, that is, the seizure of political power through armed uprisings in the cities. On his return to China, the practice of revolution and struggle enabled him to free himself from the fetters of the "theory of taking the cities as centers." After the abortive Nanchang Uprising, he resolutely led his men to go to the countryside and the mountain areas. In the rural areas, he found the foundation-stone of the cause of revolution, took root among the broad



masses of people and peasants, and, together with Comrade Mao Zedong, organized, established, and put under the leadership of the party a revolutionary army which mainly consisted of peasants.

Later, on the Long March, in northern Shaanxi, and in the Taihang Mountains, I worked for a long time under the direct leadership of Comrade Zhu De. What impressed me most was that Comrade Zhu De was a very practical-minded man. He always warned his subordinates that it is imperative that the people who lead an army to fight should not indulge in empty talk or be divorced from reality. Comrade Zhu De's thinking on maintaining, commanding, training, and maneuvering an army was based on the actual conditions of China, the conditions at that time and in that place, "fighting an appropriate kind of war with the appropriate arms, waging the appropriate kind of warfare against the enemy accordingly, and conducting military operations according to circumstances at the time and in that place."

Historical experience has proved that only by correctly understanding the national conditions of China can we find an original way rich with China's characteristics to build an army. Comrade Zhu De's outstanding contributions to this fundamental question will never be obliterated.

## II

Comrade Zhu De sincerely put his faith in and relied on the people. He always said that the people's army, under the leadership of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, was from the very beginning characterized by the fact that it is a national and democratic army of the people. "These three major characteristics are in effect three guiding principles for building an army. In the final analysis, they constitute one overall principle, that is, proceeding from the interests of the people and serving the people." ("Selected Works of Zhu De," p 158) Thus, Comrade Zhu De has pointed out the purpose of our army and the fundamental characteristics of the CPC's theory of army building.

The mass line adopted by our party has especially great significance for the implementation of the arduous historic mission of Sinicizing Marxism. History has proved that adherence to the principle of "proceeding from the interests of the people and serving the people" has enabled our army to find the source of revolutionary strength in China and to be ever victorious. At a forum on the compilation of the history of an army group under the Red Army, when he recalled the struggle at that time, he emphatically pointed out: "Chairman Mao's thinking consists of the idea of seeking truth from facts, the mass viewpoint, sowing seeds everywhere, arming the masses, and adopting the method of letting hens lay eggs. Thus, revolutionary strength grows quickly." The dogmatists do just the opposite. They "reduce the three major duties of the army to one, that is, to fight. They do not do mass work or raise funds. Consequently, they are divorced from the masses and supply is not ensured." In the "Selected Works of Zhu De," we can find many similar expositions.

If the guiding principle of "proceeding from the interests of the people and serving the people" on which army building is based is mastered by the masses of commanders and fighters, it will become a powerful material force. If we sincerely work in the interests of the people, sincerely rely on the people, and stand closely together with the people, the masses of people will contribute all their wisdom and strength to helping our army defeat any formidable enemy. As the commander in chief of our army, Comrade Zhu De was a model who practiced what he advocated, who played an exemplary role, and who led the whole army to implement this guiding principle for army building. As early as when we were still in the central revolutionary base, Comrade Zhu De had asked the Red Army to strengthen political training in order to subordinate all the commanders and fighters to the party's leadership, to make them realize the greatness of the power of the people, and to establish close ties with the people. During the war of resistance against Japan, he emphatically pointed out that: "All our strength comes from the masses and all our methods are the creations of the people." "We have no other ability than to establish close ties with the people." In order to win China's war of liberation, he instructed his troops in clear and definite terms "to repeatedly disseminate that the people are the source of all our strength"; the troops should promote what is beneficial and abolish what is harmful to the people at all times and in all places and help people surmount all the difficulties arising from the war.

Throughout his life, Comrade Zhu De cherished the people and his men and paid great attention to their well-being and democratic rights. When I was with him, I was profoundly impressed by this. Wherever he went, he moved about among the people as if he were just an ordinary soldier or laborer. The people and he were as dear to each other as members of one family. In the Jinggang Mountains, he grew vegetables and carried grain on his shoulders with a pole; "Zhu De's shoulder pole," a much told tale, was the first fine exemplary deed with which the leading cadres of the Red Army were taught to play an exemplary role, to charge at the head of their men, and to share weal and woe with them. In the difficult days during the war of resistance against Japan, the 359th Brigade was able to turn Nanniwan in northern Shaanxi into a land which was as prosperous as the areas south of the Changjiang River because Comrade Zhu De first did prospecting work and designed the blueprint. After the troops and the people jointly brought about a bumper harvest, he personally took a hand in and paid attention to everything, including such "trivial matters" as the question of how to popularize preserved vegetables and how to improve mess. In addition, he taught all the people to do a good job of it. During China's war of liberation, in the tense days when he was directing the battle of Qingfengdian and the battle of Shijiazhuang, he studied and conducted a thorough investigation of all aspects of the economic work in central Hebei and put forward a series of specific opinions on the work. He was so concerned with this work that he even paid attention to such questions as how to turn the cotton grown in central Hebei into cotton cloth and how to establish inns with sheds for carts and animals along the major communication lines. Some old comrades have written poems in praise of him: "He has reformed and revolutionized military strategy and spent half of his life in the army in order to serve the people" (by Dong Biwu).

"His contemporaries cannot recognize him because he looks like a simple old peasant" (by Xu Fanting). They constitute a vivid description of the intimate relationship between Comrade Zhu De and the people.

It was precisely because Comrade Zhu De had unlimited faith in the power of the people and had established close ties with them that he could always sustain a revolutionary optimistic spirit, that he had the communist spirit of remaining calm even as Mount Tai crumbles before one's eyes, and that he could lead our army to beat all strong enemies.

### III

In addition to adhering to the fine tradition of our army, Comrade Zhu De also paid close attention to its development. He concerned himself with our army's political work. As early as at the first conference on the political work of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, which was convened in 1934, Comrade Zhu De pointed out that: "Political work is the lifeline of the Red Army." He always emphasized the equality between the officers and the soldiers and was of the opinion that all of them, with absolutely no exception, should observe discipline. The campaign of respecting the cadres and cherishing the soldiers initiated by him greatly strengthened the unity between the troops. While our army was advancing toward its modernization and regularization, Comrade Zhu De stressed that "we should neither throw away our fine tradition nor be restricted by past experience." In the early 1950's, he pointed out that in doing political work, the most important task was to ensure the leadership of the party; another important task was to ensure that all the commanders and fighters could know something about modern technology. If our army is armed with modernized equipment and if all the people using the modernized equipment are people with Red hearts of dedication and a revolutionary heroic spirit, our army can really be called an invincible iron army. All these expositions play an important guiding role in strengthening and improving our political work under the new historical conditions. At the celebration meeting marking the 30th anniversary of the building of the army, Comrade Zhu De said: "The PLA is good at implementing the party's political and military lines, good at carrying forward and giving full play to the fine tradition and style of the people's army, and good at studying Marxism-Leninism and advanced military technologies." This constitutes an accurate and profound summarization of the features and characteristics of our army.

Before the founding of the PRC, our army was basically an infantry army. We did not have an air force, a navy, or other modernized technical arms. Comrade Zhu De paid great attention to the building of a powerful air force, a powerful navy, a powerful armored force, and other powerful special arms. In view of the rapid developments in modern arms and equipment, he made timely instructions on the need to improve in a short time the political and military quality of the commanders and fighters and their scientific and cultural knowledge and the need to strengthen the tactical and technical training of the troops. In addition, he also set strict demands in the training of troops. He urged the commanders and fighters to "pledge with their party spirit to master technological knowledge

wholeheartedly until they have become professionally competent." In addition, Comrade Zhu De earnestly taught us: After we have mastered technological knowledge, there is still the need to keep ourselves in contact with the masses; we should continue to improve our political consciousness, be loyal to the people and the motherland, and strictly observe revolutionary discipline. Doubtless, his teachings are still very important. At the suggestion of the party and the Central Military Commission, our army enthusiastically and vigorously supports and takes part in the state's key construction projects, rushes to deal with emergencies, does relief work, promotes what is beneficial and abolishes what is harmful to the people, enthusiastically trains gifted people to be capable of doing army and civilian work and, together with the people, builds a socialist spiritual civilization. All this constitutes the development of the fine tradition of the close ties between the army and the people. This tradition is rich with distinctive Chinese characteristics. Some foreign critics say that if our army advances toward modernization, it will abandon the idea of people's war. This is a grave misunderstanding and distortion. The people are always our source of strength for conquering the enemy.

Comrade Zhu De was an ordinary yet great commander in chief with the distinctive characters of a Chinese communist. Comrade Zhu De's important military writings, which are included in the "Selected Works," have faithfully recorded his great contributions from the time he founded the Red Army to his building a modernized, regularized, and revolutionary army, and reflected his superb generalship in devising strategies within a command tent and in commanding an army with perfect ease, and his rich experience in commanding an army, and his noble character of being open, aboveboard, honest, sincere, kind, hard working, plain living, selfless, fearless, and incorruptible. The spirit of seeking truth from facts, the spirit of the mass line, and the spirit of independence, initiative, and self-reliance runs through the "Selected Works of Zhu De." The "Selected Works of Zhu De" is really a treasure house for the people's revolutionary military thinking which is rich with China's characteristics. In addition, it is also a spiritual legacy handed down from a great strategist and revolutionary. Today, in addition to properly studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we must also earnestly study Comrade Zhu De's works. The study will help us deepen our understanding of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's basic idea of building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics, of the adherence to the four cardinal principles, and of the four important political guarantees. In this way, the revolutionary, modernized, and regularized construction of our army can advance victoriously along the Marxist line firmly established by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC National Congress.

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BASIC GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR REFORMING THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY--  
UNDERSTANDING GAINED THROUGH STUDYING THE 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

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[Article by Zhou Taihe [0719 1132 0735]]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has included in it the magnificent articles written by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the period from 1975-1982, which was a great historical turning point in our country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping is one of our party's proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation and is one of the principal leaders of the party and state. His enormous role in and outstanding contributions to our party's and state's political life is known to all. He has comprehensively and correctly applied the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the light of our national conditions, and has put forth and expounded on many important ideas in theory and many principles and policies concerning the construction of socialism with distinguishing Chinese features. These ideas, principles, and policies are of great significance in ensuring the smooth development of our country's modernization cause and are the basic principles which we must adhere to in reforming our economic system.

I

Our socialist economic structure has taken shape gradually since the 1950's. The practice of more than 30 years has proved that this kind of structure has played a positive role in centralizing the leadership, in concentrating our financial and material resources in order to guarantee the construction of the key projects of the state, in changing local economic layout, readjusting our economic structure, and arranging people's livelihood with unified planning, and in ensuring the supply of the basic needs for our people's livelihood. However, because of the influence of "leftist" thoughts, there are many unfavorable factors in our economic system, of which the major ones are: the mix of our economic forms is not rational enough; management power is overcentralized; the departments and areas are separated from one another; the role of the law of value and the principle of distribution according to labor is neglected; and so forth. All these have hindered giving play to the initiative of our enterprises and laborers and are unfavorable to the coordinated development and overall balance of our national economy and detrimental to the improvement of our social

economic results. In addition, there are quite a few erroneous traditional concepts in various fields of our economic and social life that have fettered people's minds and hindered the development of our productive forces for a long time. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have put to an end the 10 years of turmoil and, through bringing order out of chaos, have reestablished the Marxist ideological line. As a result, we have restored the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and the party's correct policies and developed them under the new conditions. We have also restored the situation of stability and unity. In accordance with the objective demands of our socialist economic development, Comrade Deng Xiaoping promptly put forth to the whole party the tasks of carrying out reforms in our economic structure and in our systems and organizations. In October 1978, in his speech entitled "The Working Class Should Make Outstanding Contributions to the Realization of Our Four Modernizations," he first put forth the idea that "on various economic fronts, we should carry out a major reform not only in our technology but also in our systems and organizations. Carrying out these reforms is where our long-term interests lie. Without carrying out these reforms, we will not be able to shake off the existing backwardness in our production technology and management." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 126) In December of the same year, at a work conference of the CPC Central Committee on the eve of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he further called on the comrades throughout the party to emancipate their minds, seek truth from facts, and "correctly reform the relations of production and the superstructure that are not suited to the rapid development of our productive forces and, in the light of our country's practical conditions, chart out a definite path and formulate definite principles, methods, and measures for the four modernizations." (Ibid., p 131) After this, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further laid greater stress on the relationships between the reform and the destiny of the party and the state, and profoundly pointed out: "If we again fail to carry out reforms, our cause of modernization and socialism will be ruined." (Ibid., p 140) "Not only will our four modernizations be hopeless, but our party and state will also face the problem of subjugation." (Ibid., p 352) In 1982, in his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further clearly regarded the reform in the economic structure as one of the most important guarantees for adhering to the socialist road and for opening up a new prospect for our socialist modernization. Thus he put forth the reform before the whole party and the people throughout our country as a basic guiding thought for our party in directing the modernizations. At the same time, he also pointed out that the reform will run through the whole process of the four modernizations.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping also makes a pithy exposition on the nature of reforms and points out that the structural reform is a revolution. "Of course, this is not a revolution in people, but is a revolution in the structures." (Ibid., p 352) "We should transform in many of their aspects the relations of production, the superstructure and the management forms in our industrial and agricultural enterprises, and the ways the state runs these enterprises in order to make them meet the demand of our large-scale modern economy." (Ibid., p 125) The series of Comrade Deng



Xiaoping's expositions on the reform greatly heighten the whole party's understanding of the importance of the reform and their sense of urgency toward the reform.

Marxism advocates the view that in a socialist society, the principal contradictions continue to be the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic basis. All the reforms carried out under the socialist condition are aimed at consciously transforming certain aspects and links of the relations of production and the superstructure which are not suited to the productive forces and are acts by which socialism improves and perfects itself on its own foundation. They are carried out under the leadership of the CPC and by relying on the practice of millions of people. Through the reform, we should achieve the goal put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, namely, facilitating the construction of a socialism with distinguishing Chinese features, and contributing to the prosperity of our state and the well-being and happiness of our people. This means that we should continue to consolidate and develop our socialist system instead of weakening or shattering it. Therefore, we should implement the four basic principles which are put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. We should adhere to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, i.e., proletarian dictatorship, to the leadership of the Communist Party, and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is the basic premise that ensures that our country's economic structural reform healthily and smoothly develops along a proper path. If we depart from this premise, we will commit extremely great mistakes and the reform will leave the correct orbit and suffer setbacks.

## II

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country's economic structural reform has made important breakthroughs and progress both in the field of theory and in the field of practice. This has played an important role in giving play to the initiative of various circles and in enlivening the urban and rural economy. During more than 4 years, the reform has been carried out with the overall implementation of the eight-character policy. Reform should be subordinate to the readjustment and the readjustment in turn promotes the reform. Readjustment and consolidation will create favorable conditions for the reform. At the same time, as a result of the development of reform, the readjustment of our economy and consolidation of our enterprises are promoted.

Facts have proved that it is impossible for us to carry out reform without consolidation and readjustment. As far back as in 1975, in order to counter the rampant activities of the "gang of four" and the chaotic situation of our economic life, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the slogan of carrying out a thorough shake-up [quanmian zhengdun: 0356 7240 2419 7319], calling for carrying out consolidation in all fields including agriculture, industry, science, education, culture, and the army. Through the consolidation, the problems in various fields will be solved. This is a program for our actions which was well known throughout the country at that time. Since

the third plenary session, the CPC Central Committee has put forth the principle that we should "readjust, restructure, consolidate, and improve" our national economy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out that "this eight-character policy is not put forward casually. On the contrary, it is put forth through summing up our past experiences and analyzing the current situation in order that our work in the future will develop more satisfactorily and rapidly." (Ibid., p 210) Readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving are closely related as an integrated principle. Readjusting mainly means readjusting the proportional relationships of the various sectors of our national economy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "Solving the problems related to various forms of economic structures is also a kind of very complicated readjustment on a very large scale." (Ibid., p 147) Furthermore, he points out that "readjusting is, in fact, also consolidating." (Ibid., p 32) Studying and implementing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's series of instructions on the problem of consolidation continues to be of very great realistic importance in doing a good job of reform today. Thanks to the readjustment, restructuring, and consolidation in the past few years, our national economy has now already embarked on a path of healthy development. However, we should realize that our work of readjustment and consolidation is not yet finished. The proportional relationship of various sectors of our national economy is still not coordinated, the basic work of many enterprises is very poor, the level of administration and management is quite low, and the economic results are still unsatisfactory. It is necessary to continue to carry out, in greater depth and width, the principle of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving. No matter whether in consolidating, restructuring or readjusting, from now on, we should start from improving our administration and management, promoting technical progress, lowering material consumption, raising the quality of products, and raising our economic results in an all-round manner. In order to achieve this, we should continue to combine the reform closely with the readjustment of our economic structure and with our enterprise consolidation. We should also apply the spirit of reform to the further satisfactory grasping of our work of consolidation in the following aspects:

1. We should continue to consolidate the leading groups at all levels. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out that "the problem related to our leading group is a problem concerning whether or not our party's line can be carried out. If we fail satisfactorily to solve this problem, it is even more difficult to make a beginning let alone lead the masses in forging further ahead." (Ibid., p 9) In consolidating various sectors of our national economy and in consolidating our enterprises, we should focus on satisfactorily consolidating and readjusting the leading groups. We should conscientiously purge the "three kinds of people." We should promote to leading posts at various levels those who are in the prime of life, who have an aspiration to forge ahead, and who are capable of opening up a new prospect. At the same time, we should follow the spirit of reform, strengthen the development of our ideological professional competence, and achieve the goal of making our ranks of cadres revolutionary, younger, better educated, and professionally competent.



2. We should establish and perfect necessary rules and regulations. During the past few years, although we have established quite a few rules and regulations, they still fall short of the demands of the consolidation and reform. As far back as 1975, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about consolidation, he emphasized the establishment and perfection of various rules and regulations. We must point out that up to now, there are still some units and enterprises where there are defective systems, disintegrated and slack discipline which sometimes gives rise to serious accidents. We should not allow these phenomena to continue to exist. While carrying out the consolidation, we should emphasize the reform of irrational rules and regulations and establish and perfect various kinds of rules and regulations in accordance with the principle of abolishing while establishing and giving consideration to both abolishing and establishing.

3. We should establish the responsibility system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasizes that the key to consolidation is the establishment of the responsibility system and the abolishment of the phenomena of nobody being responsible. He also points out that we must implement the responsibility system in all spheres. At present, in implementing the production and management responsibility system in our agricultural, industrial, commercial, construction, communications, and other enterprises we should adhere to regarding responsibility as the core, put responsibility first, and closely link responsibility, power, and interests. Through strengthening our responsibility system, "we will enable the general mood of society characterized by each rivaling the other in forging ahead and everybody striving to be the advanced to emerge on all fronts." (Ibid., p 142)

In the process of the consolidation and reform, we should continue to enliven our economy, refrain from following the old path, strive for a comparatively great increase in our social economic results, and lay a good foundation for the further development of our all-round reform.

### III

In his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that we have to "combine the universal truth of Marxism with our concrete practice, follow our own road, and construct a socialism with distinguishing Chinese features. This is the basic conclusion which we have drawn through summing up our long-term historical experiences." (Ibid., p 372) At the same time, he also pointed out: "Copying the experiences and modes of foreign countries will never succeed." (Ibid., p 371) In this way, he pointed out the correct road and the guiding principles for our economic structural reform.

Marxism has put forth a few ideas of a principle nature on the question of how to organize and manage economy. All its theses on establishing the public ownership of the means of production, on a planned and proportional development of socialist economy, on carrying out distribution according to labor in socialism, on organizing economy in accordance with socialized mass production, and on combining material encouragement and ideological education are the basic principles which we must adhere to. We should

combine these basic principles with our country's practical conditions and establish a scientific and effective economic structure. This is a problem which the socialist countries are striving to solve. Our task is establishing a socialist economic structure with distinguishing Chinese features in the light of our existing conditions. Judging by our practices of reforms in the past few years and the development of the situation in the present period, our new socialist economic structure must have the following distinguishing features:

1. We must adhere to the principle of regarding the state-run economy as the core while developing diversified forms of economy and management. Because our country is a socialist country, our public ownership must be put into an overwhelmingly superior position and our national economy must play a leading role. Moreover, our country is a big country with a comparatively low production level and uneven economic development. There are diversified kinds of social demands and there is a large labor force to provide jobs for and many production and service undertakings that cannot be entirely run by the state. All these have determined that while adhering to giving play to the leading role of our state-run economy, we should vigorously develop the collective economy, individual economy, and other forms of economy. In our rural areas, the collective economy of the working people is the principal form of economy and the individual economy is a necessary supplement. While we open up to the outside world and properly make use of the technology and capital introduced from abroad, we can also develop joint ventures with Chinese and foreign capital. This special feature of regarding the state-run economy as the core and allowing diversified economic forms to exist alongside it will enable us to avoid not only the malpractice of attempting to carry out a uniform system of public ownership, or even a uniform system of ownership by the whole people, which will lead to making our economy extremely inflexible, but also the blind development of other forms of economy which will have a harmful impact on our national economy and on our unified market. The proportion in developing the national economy and other forms of economy will be arranged to differ at different periods and in different localities. Our experience in reforming the rural economy proves that in the same economic forms of public ownership, we should adopt, according to the different conditions, diversified forms of administration and management in order to give full play to the tremendous superiority of our socialist economy.

2. We should adhere to the guiding principle of regarding the planned economy as the core and the regulation of the market mechanism as a supplement. In conducting planned economy on the basis of public ownership, we must carry out the principle of giving the leading role to our planned economy and should not utilize the regulation of our market mechanism without restriction. At the same time, because we have the above-mentioned diversified forms of economy and management and because our commodity production and exchange are underdeveloped and our development of economy is uneven, it is difficult for us to make an accurate calculation of the diversified and complicated production and demands and we must allow the regulation of the market mechanism to play its role within a certain scope under the prerequisite of giving the planned economy a leading position. In

view of the distinguishing features of our country's social economy, in managing our economic activities we should divide them into two sections, namely, the major section, which must be managed in a planned manner, and the minor and subordinate section, which should be regulated by the market mechanism. Accordingly, we can adopt, in accordance with the different nature of our enterprises, products, and tasks, three major management forms, namely, management by mandatory plans, management by guidance plans, and management by the regulation of the market mechanism. Management by mandatory plans is the chief form of our country's planned management. All means of production and consumption in our state-run economy should be controlled through the management of mandatory plans, if they are important for the state plan and the people's livelihood. Management through guidance plans should be exercised in the production and circulation of many kinds of relatively complicated products that are of diversified specifications and a wide scope of utilization. Regarding the production of these products, though some targets are formulated by the state in its guidance plans, they are not compulsory. The guidance plans are carried out through the application of economic levers and the timely publication of supply and demand information. As for various kinds of small commodities that are of small output value and large variety and the demand for which is seasonal and local, the state should not issue any planned targets for them and should allow enterprises and production units to arrange the production of these commodities flexibly on their own in accordance with the situation of supply and demand. The state can strengthen its management over their production through its policies and decrees and through its administrative work over industry and commerce. It can also help these enterprises and units solve the problems related to the supply of raw materials and energy. We should not only correctly distinguish the scope and boundaries of these three management forms but also properly combine them. In other words, we should neither expand at will the scope of the management of our guidance plans, nor expand at will the scope of the regulation of the market mechanism. We should enliven our production and circulation under the conditions of facilitating the exercise of strict control over the scale of capital construction and the total amount of consumption funds and facilitating price and credit control. While enlivening our production and circulation, we should also strengthen our management over them in order to achieve the aim of exercising control without causing rigidity and enlivening without causing confusion.

3. We should give full play to the roles of our cities and make them the centers for organizing and managing our economy. Our country has a vast territory in which the distribution of resources is very uneven and disparity between the natural and economic conditions in different areas is very great. Therefore, neither the system of managing mainly by departments nor the system of managing mainly by areas is appropriate. For the implementation of the system of administration and management mainly by departments often leads to divisions between departments which is detrimental to the practice of organizing economic activities in the light of local conditions. On the other hand, the implementation of the system of managing mainly by the areas of jurisdiction often gives rise to blockades between areas and the separation of our unified socialist market into

isolated sections. In view of the actual conditions in our country, we should gradually expand the decisionmaking power of our enterprises; reduce, on the basis of carrying out mergers and reorganization in a planned manner according to professional lines and the nature of products, the function of central departments and provincial and regional governments in directly managing enterprises; and gradually establish economic zones and networks of various types and scales centered on cities, especially big cities. All the reform in our planning and financial and circulation structures should facilitate overcoming the situation of the separation between departments, between areas, and between urban and rural areas.

4. We should adopt various means to regulate our economic activities and to gradually achieve the aim of managing our economy with economic methods. For a long time, we have regulated and managed our economic activities mainly by means of administrative methods and by means of issuing a series of planned targets downwards, level by level. By so doing, we have often exercised an excessively rigid control over some insignificant economic activities, deprived our basic-level production and management units of their vitality, and thus given rise to dislocation between production and demand and hindered our economic development. In carrying out the economic structural reform, while persisting in correctly applying the means of planning, administration, and legislation, the state should give play to the role of various economic levers such as prices, taxation, and credit and strengthen the means of inspection such as statistics, auditing, and industrial and commercial management in order to control and regulate various kinds of economic activities and to gradually put an end to the method of managing economy by administrative means alone. In the future, our administrative organizations should expend their efforts mainly in formulating principles and policies on economic development and concrete business management should mainly be put in the charge of the enterprises.

5. We should implement the principle of combining ideological education and material interests. Comrade Deng Xiaoping points out: "Our advocacy of distribution according to labor and our recognition of material interests is aimed at striving for the interests of all the people. Everybody must get his due share of material interests. However, this by no means signifies that we encourage people to discard the state, collective, and other people and to fight solely for their personal material interests, or encourage looking at money in everything. Otherwise, what is the difference between socialism and capitalism?" (Ibid., p 297) Our socialist economic structural reform is carried out under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. While transforming the objective world, we should also transform our subjective world. Therefore, while stressing material interests, we must advocate communist ideology, work style, and attitude toward labor and correctly handle the relations between the interests of the whole and the interests of the part, between long-term and immediate interests, and between collective and individual interests. We should put the interests of the state and the whole first and promote the simultaneous development of both material and spiritual civilizations.

Through the above-mentioned reform, we should enable our national economy to become rationally organized and effectively managed as well as give full play to the initiative and creativeness of our enterprises and laborers and fill our economy with vitality. Thus we will be able to ensure a steady and coordinated development of our country's economy. On this basis, a socialist economic system with distinguishing Chinese features will gradually take shape.

#### IV

The economic structural reform involves the readjustment in the structure of the ownership of the means of production, the reform in the management system of the national economy, and the shifting of economic power and interests in many spheres. This is another deepgoing revolution after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production in our country. In order to enable the reform to develop smoothly along a correct orientation and to achieve the expected results, we must make preparations for it in all aspects and resolutely carry it out in an orderly and systematic manner under our leadership. Concerning the methods and steps of the reform, we must pay attention to satisfactorily doing our work in the following aspects:

1. We should carry out all-round research into the theory of economic structural reform. The guidance of a correct theory is a guarantee for the adherence to the correct orientation of the reform. An important breakthrough in the theoretical field is a precondition for the achievement of major progress in the reform. It is precisely because, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have carried out theoretical research into many major issues concerning commodity production, the law of value, distribution according to labor, planning, and the market and have broken away from some old traditional concepts and have clarified many confused ideas that we have been able to achieve some progress in our economic structural reform. In order to carry out an all-round economic structural reform, we should deepen our theoretical research and clarify a series of major theoretical issues, including the issue concerning the handling of the relationship between adhering to the socialist road by regarding the state-run economy as the core and developing diversified forms of economy; the issue of how we are to combine department management with area management in order to organize our economy in accordance with the requirements of socialized mass production; the issue concerning the strengthening of planned management and the correct application of economic levers; and so forth. We should use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guideline to carry out all-round theoretical research in the light of our country's reality. Moreover, we should combine theoretical research with research into the schemes, policies, and measures of the reform and thus solve the new problems that will crop up in the practice of reform.

2. We should pay close attention to formulating a general plan for the economic structural reform. As far back as 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: "Now, it is necessary to sum up our experience in order

to do the work better and faster. It is necessary to formulate the principles of and a long-term plan for our economic structural reform. All these are our major tasks, in carrying out which there should not be any impatience nor any delay." (Ibid., p 211) In the light of the strategic goal for the year 2000 and the economic and social development plans for each time period, we should formulate as soon as possible, on the basis of carrying out theoretical research and practical investigation, a general plan for our economic structural reform which should consist of the goal, content, and steps of the reform. Thus we will be able to achieve a stable and coordinated development of the reform in all our departments and areas in accordance with what is conceived in the general plan.

3. We should begin the reform in a few areas and departments. Whenever there is a need for carrying out a pilot project, we should do so in order to obtain experience for gradually popularizing the reform. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out that "before it is possible to put forth a unified plan for the whole nation, we should begin our work from a few areas and departments. We can begin from one area or one trade and gradually popularize the reform to other areas and trades. All the departments of the central authorities should allow and encourage these areas and trades to carry out such experiments." (Ibid., p 140) Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have achieved great progress in our economic structural reform. One of the important reasons for this is because we have persisted in adopting the correct method of carrying out pilot projects first and then gradually popularizing the reform. We should do so in our industry and commerce as well as in our agriculture. Our historical experiences have proved that even if the progress of the reform is slowed down because of the necessity of carrying out pilot projects, it is worthwhile to carry out the reform. For the losses that we will suffer from the reduction of speed caused by the pilot projects are smaller than those which we may suffer when, in order to seek great speed, we do not carry out any pilot projects and as a result the reform is poorly done and we have to carry it out once more from the beginning. Now, pilot projects of comprehensive structural reform are being carried out in Changzhou, Jiangsu; Shashi, Hubei; Chongqing, Sichuan; and other areas. Some other areas and cities and some trades are also conscientiously making preparations and creating conditions for carrying out such projects. However, there must not be too many pilot projects of comprehensive reform and we should only expand this reform step by step. In short, our reform is aimed at achieving progress. Therefore, it is imperative for the reform to bring about satisfactory results and we should never carry out the reform in an indiscreet manner.

The economic structural reform is a very complicated and arduous task. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "The reform in the relations of production and superstructure cannot be smooth sailing. It has a vast involvement and involves the vital interests of a large number of people. Surely, various kinds of complicated conditions and problems will emerge and, surely, we will meet obstacle after obstacle... We must be mentally prepared for this." (Ibid., p 142) We should be full of confidence and determined to carry out the reform and should speed up the pace of the



reform systematically under the leadership of the upper levels. We should be confident that with the leadership of the CPC, with the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and with the support and participation of millions of people, we will certainly be able to break all barriers and overcome all difficulties in carrying out our country's economic structural reform. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "The path will become broader as more and more people tread it and each person will get what he wants. There is no doubt about this." (Ibid., p 143)

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STRENGTHEN WORK CONCERNING INTELLECTUALS AMONG RETURNED OVERSEAS CHINESE AND  
DEPENDENTS OF OVERSEAS CHINESE LIVING ABROAD IN THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 23-26

[Article by Liao Chengzhi [1675 2110 1807]]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Liao Chengzhi was an outstanding leader of our party and our state and was an eminent social activist. His death was a great loss to our party and the state. For a very long time, he had devoted all his efforts to the consolidation and development of the patriotic united front which includes compatriots of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, as well as the Overseas Chinese living abroad, and had made great contributions to the solidarity and unity of the motherland. For a long time he was responsible for the party's affairs concerning nationals living abroad. He resolutely implemented the party's policy on these affairs, safeguarded and took care of the just rights and benefits of Overseas Chinese living abroad, and safeguarded and showed concern for the lawful rights and benefits of returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad. This article is an abstract of the talk given by Comrade Liao Chengzhi on 28 April 1983 at a national forum on the work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad. In this article, in accordance with the party's policy concerning intellectuals, Comrade Liao Chengzhi profoundly expounded the important significance of the intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad in terms of the construction of our socialist modernization in the new period. It plays an important role of guidance in our work on affairs concerning nationals living abroad and on intellectuals, and in the implementation of the party's relevant general and specific policies. Therefore, we publish this article by way of expressing our condolence.

It is very important, whether from the point of view of the strategic decision of the central authorities concerning the work of intellectuals, or from the point of view of the work on affairs concerning nationals living abroad, to strengthen the work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad in the new period.

1. In the New Historical Period, We Should Have a New Understanding on the Work Concerning Intellectuals

Comrade Hu Yaobang made a very important speech at the centennial meeting in memory of the death of Marx. This speech raised to a new height the problem of correctly treating knowledge and intellectuals. That is, the problem was raised as an important and urgent problem of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's construction of socialist modernization, and he made very brilliant expositions. He pointed out that we should ensure the creation of a social attitude respecting knowledge and intellectuals.

Why should the central authorities place the work concerning intellectuals in such an important position? This has been considered from the height of strategy. In order to build our country into a strong socialist and modernized country, and to realize the grand objective set forth by the CPC Central Committee, we must attach importance to knowledge and, in particular, to the development of science and technology, and speed up training the ranks of intellectuals. In this modern world, what is called economic development means in essence the development of science and technology; and what is called economic competition means, after all, the competition of science and technology. A certain level of science and technology will lead to a corresponding level of economic development. In the industrially developed countries, 60 to 80 percent of the development in industrial production is achieved through the adoption of new technological results. Furthermore, science and technology are utilized and developed by those people who have a relatively higher level of science and culture. That is why some industrially developed countries pay great attention to the education, discovery, and utilization of talented people. Therefore, the problem of talents is an extremely important strategic problem. Generally speaking, the science, technology, and education of our country are relatively backward when compared with those of the industrially developed countries, and the problem of talents turns out to be more urgent. The way to solve this problem depends mainly on us attaining a vigorous development in science and technology, grasping well the training of talents as a matter of great importance. It may well be stated that without a good grasp of science and technology and without the proper training of talents, there will not be a quadrupling of the annual general output value in industry and agriculture, nor will there be four modernizations. This is the key factor that determines the success or failure of our country's construction of socialist modernization. Now, all of us are thinking how to achieve the four modernizations and how to quadruple the general output value, are we not? Here exists a question of genuine wish or false pledge, and a question of empty talk or virtuous practice. If you truly want to promote the four

modernizations and to do practical work, you must attach importance to knowledge and to intellectuals. This problem is thus sharply placed before us. I think that the attitude toward knowledge and intellectuals should become an important yardstick to measure each comrade's position regarding the construction of the four modernizations.

From a historical point of view, our party did have the tradition of attaching importance to knowledge and intellectuals. In the period after the founding of the country, our party was basically correct in its attitude toward intellectuals. It was precisely because of this that there did not emerge the phenomenon of large batches of intellectuals emigrating overseas, but there did emerge the phenomenon of large batches of overseas intellectuals returning to their homeland to participate in its construction. We not only catered to a great number of intellectuals from the old society, but also trained a greater number of new intellectuals. However, beginning from the antirightist struggle, especially during the 10 years' internal turmoil, intellectuals were regarded as bourgeois intellectuals and the stinking old nine, with the result that their minds were filled with grievances, and their socialist initiative was severely impaired. Some of them left their motherland, depressed and brokenhearted. This lesson is very profound indeed. Now, through implementation of our policy, the situation has taken a turn for the better. However, whether in terms of ideology or public opinion, or in terms of political, economical, or organizational measures, the serious influence of the long-lasting "leftist" mistakes is far from being radically eliminated. Ideologically, the influence manifests itself in the fact that some comrades still lack the correct understanding of the especially important function played by intellectuals in the new period of building our socialist modernization, and they are even out of tune with the general policy of the central authorities. They always want to separate the intellectuals from the workers and peasants, as if emphasis on attaching importance to intellectuals amounted to belittling workers and peasants. We must respect and depend on workers and peasants, and, likewise, we must respect and depend on intellectuals. Intellectuals are part of the working class, and are that part of the working class which is mastering modern scientific knowledge. In this case, are they not an important force to be relied on in our modern construction? We say intellectuals are the precious wealth of our country, and they are naturally the precious wealth of the broad masses of workers and peasants. Attaching importance to intellectuals means attaching importance to the prosperity and affluence of our country. This conforms to the radical interests of the people, including all the workers and peasants, in our country.

## 2. More Respect and Care Should Be Accorded to Intellectuals Among Returned Overseas Chinese and Dependents of Overseas Chinese Living Abroad

Time and again the CPC Central Committee has emphasized the importance of, and the enhancement of the work regarding intellectuals. I think that in strengthening the work concerning intellectuals, we should not neglect the intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, and, moreover, we should give them a greater degree of respect and care. This is because:

First, many of them are first-rate experts, scholars, and talents in the world or at home, and are the leading elements in the fields of, or in the specializations in education, public health, scientific research, engineering, and technology. They have very high attainments in their specific fields and have made considerable contributions to the construction of our country. After a rather long period of practice in their work, most of them have become the backbone elements on various fronts.

Second, they have close connections with hundreds of thousands of Overseas Chinese and foreign specialists of Chinese descent, and with many foreign experts and scholars. In a modern world, the development of a country's science, technology, and economy cannot be separated from extensive exchanges internationally. Because of our country's backwardness in science and technology, it should be more important, on the basis of self-reliance, for us to expedite the development of our construction of modernization through the help of the advanced science and technology introduced from abroad. In this respect, the intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese have very advantageous conditions and can perform an important function as the bridge.

Third, many of these people have for decades been parted from their relatives living abroad, abandoned the relatively affluent life which they might have enjoyed, and persevered in remaining in China to participate in the construction of the four modernizations. Comrade Hu Yaobang has recently commented on and circulated a letter submitted by an organ handling letters from the masses. The person who had written the letter was a returned Overseas Chinese intellectual from Thailand. His mother had urged him time and again to apply for an exit permit, but he replied in one of his letters: "Letters urge me to leave for Thailand, parents' love for their son deeply shown; no shift of my devotion to motherland, willing to be an unfilial son in a distant home." Do these touching words not demonstrate the noble patriotic zeal of the broad returned Overseas Chinese intellectuals? Furthermore, since they are far from their relatives, they encounter more difficulties in their practical life when compared with others whose homes are in China.

Fourth, they have encountered more setbacks. Owing to the long-term "leftist" errors, they have been obsessed with various kinds of biased treatment and grievances, and their mental wounds are more severe than those of the average intellectuals. Up to the present, in some units, they are still subject to discrimination because of their "overseas relations." In many respects such as joining the party, promotion, assignment, training, and selection for assignments abroad, they face more problems than other intellectuals.

Comrades, please think about the situation regarding these capable persons. Is it not necessary for our party and the state, and our broad cadres and people to give them a greater degree of respect, trust, concern, and care?

Here, the primary thing is to give them more respect. For intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living

abroad, what hurts most is the sense of being slighted and distrusted, with nowhere to use their talents. But at present, the phenomenon of waste of talent can be seen everywhere. Some people, who had done nothing outstanding at home, have made great achievements when they have gone abroad. This is a situation caused by incorrect practice in our work, and this is a thing that should not have taken place. Some leaders of certain departments and units are wont to find fault with them with a magnifier, and consign them to limbo once some minor mistakes are discovered. These leaders even look at people with colored glasses, regard merits as demerits, and turn things upside down. What happened to the returned Overseas Chinese Jiang Yongxu, who works at Hengyang automobile accessories factory in Hunan Province, is an example. It should be asserted that being considerate toward talents and being good at discovering and utilizing talents are requisite conditions that good leaders should possess in the new period. Otherwise, it should be called incompetency. In order to accord more respect to intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, the "leftist" influence should be radically eliminated. In particular, bias and prejudice against them formed on the basis of "overseas relations" should be cast off. These intellectuals should be utilized with boldness, and, in particular, their specialized skills and their strong points should be brought into play. We should pay special attention to selecting those capable persons, who possess specialized knowledge or organization and management abilities, to take up leading posts.

To give them more care means to solve their practical difficulties with preference. Now when we mention more care for those intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, some people always react: "What about the others?" I do not mean giving up overall consideration, but mean that we should not place everything on the same scale, without anything preferential. That constitutes a tendency to blot out their peculiarities and is an expression of the ideology of egalitarianism. We should fight obstacle without struggle. Now we may consider the situation in a practical manner. Under the present circumstances, more care for intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad amounts only to some improvement in their living and working conditions and some mitigation in their practical difficulties. What is more important is that we should look at this problem from the overall situation. If we do not strive to solve their practical difficulties, we will not be able to stabilize the minds of a portion of these people, thus causing losses in terms of talents for our construction, nor can we set the minds of Overseas Chinese at ease, unite the broad Overseas Chinese living abroad, and give full play to their active function in building the four modernizations, in uniting the whole motherland, and maintaining world peace. Adequate preferential treatment for them is a matter of great import beneficial to both the nation and to the people. In various places, appropriate stipulations and practical measures should be adopted to solve their practical difficulties actively. Of course, under the present conditions that there are difficulties in our country's economy, their problems can only be solved step by step. However, our understanding should be definite and our attitude should be active.

### 3. Strengthening the Work Concerning Intellectuals Among Returned Overseas Chinese and Dependents of Overseas Chinese Living Abroad Is an Important Task in the Work Dealing With Affairs Concerning Nationals Living Abroad

The work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad is an important aspect of our party's work concerning intellectuals. In this connection, good results depend on the degree of emphasis placed by CPC committees and governments at various levels. It is hoped that leading comrades in various places will pay great attention to this work and, not just in words but in practice, strengthen their leadership.

With regard to the work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, the departments at various levels handling affairs concerning nationals living abroad should take up more responsibilities and show more concern for them. The work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad should be placed on the important agenda of the departments concerned, and should be grasped well as a key item in the work concerning Overseas Chinese affairs at home. This is one of the important criteria for evaluating the work results of the departments handling affairs concerning nationals living abroad.

First, serve them enthusiastically. Their just rights should be protected, and their patriotism and their devotion to work should be safeguarded. The departments responsible for affairs concerning Overseas Chinese should strive, with good reason, to call for fair treatment for these intellectuals, to solve their difficulties, and to alleviate their worries. These departments should become the homes for the intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad, and the cadres of these departments should become their close friends.

Second, do practical things. We should do some practical things for them. Our defect is that there are too few comrades doing practical and concrete work. I earnestly hope that you will not indulge yourselves in empty talk and high-flown words, but act as practical doers to explore and break new ground. On the basis of investigations and studies, you should get hold of a problem common to these people in a particular period, and, through consultations with the relevant departments, formulate some measures. You should often conduct investigations, and solve any problems once they are discovered, and carry the work through to the end. If we can solve scores of problems in a year, through the popularization of advanced experiences, we are sure to be able to expand the scope of our work.

Third, do a good job in propagation. The work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad is a complicated job with various sectors involved. Therefore, the departments handling Overseas Chinese affairs cannot perform a one-man show. We should, under the leadership of the party and the government, be good at motivating various sectors to attach importance to, and grasp well this work. Extensive and intensive publicity should be conducted to enable various sectors of society and various departments concerned to realize the conditions of these intellectuals, and to understand the importance of the work, so as to obtain their active support.



## THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION IS THE INEVITABLE TREND OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE NATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 27-33

[Article by Li Mingsan and Guo Dehong]

[Text] The victory of the Chinese people's revolution in October 1949 brought an end to the division on the mainland and brought about the genuine reunification which the people demanded. However, right up until today, Taiwan Province, which for a long time was trampled upon by the imperialists, has not yet been reunited with the motherland. The effort to promote the full accomplishment of the great cause of reunifying the motherland, and the further consolidation of national unity, represents an important historical task faced together by the people of all nationalities across the country, including compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and overseas.

The Chinese people have always had a patriotic tradition of opposing division and of protecting unity. In the new historical period, looking back over this glorious tradition, and finding out something about the inevitable tendency of historical development, is undoubtedly of benefit to carrying out the great cause of national reunification and consolidating national unity.

### National Reunification Is an Irresistible Tide of History

That our great mother country is now able to cover such a vast amount of territory, and contain such a huge population, is the result of an historical process from division to unification, from small unity to great unity, and from redivision to reunification.

Right from ancient times, as soon as our forefathers broke away from primitive society, with the appearance of the Xia, Shang, and Western Zhou Dynasties, initial unification began to take place over the whole region. With the arrival of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, with their "five powerful feudal lords, and seven powerful states," there ensued 400 years of division, in which the country was torn apart by rival states. However, "unification" is inevitable. In 221 B.C., Qinshi Huang finally managed to unify the six states, and established a feudal state with power



concentrated at the center, achieving a relatively great extent of unity over an area incomparably greater than that of the Xia, Shang and Western Zhou Dynasties. Though the Qin Emperor died not long after, unity was maintained for nearly 400 years during the ensuing Western Han and Eastern Han Dynasties. Though the following period was one of tripartite confrontation between the Three Kingdoms, the Western Jin Dynasty which followed, unified the country again. Though there ensued a relatively long period of division under the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, the Sui and Tang Dynasties brought about another reunification. After a short period of division under the Five Dynasties and Six States, the Northern Sung Dynasty restored unity in the central plains. After a period of coexistence between the Northern Sung and the Liao, Western Xia and Dali, and between the Southern Sung and the Jin, Western Xia and Dali, with the reunification of the whole country under the Yuan Dynasty, there was never again a long period of division in our country's history, and the situation of unification became generally stable. With the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the situation of national unity became even more irreversible. After the 1911 Revolution, though the Northern Warlord Period brought effective division, the country was still a unified state in name. But the victory of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the CPC, and the establishment of the People's Republic of China brought genuine, solid unity to mainland China.

This process of historical development shows that ever since records have been kept, in the history of the Chinese people, periods of unification have been longer than those of division. From the establishment of a feudal state with centralized power under Qinshi Huang, there have been a total of about 600 years of division, only a quarter of the whole historical period. Even if we add those short periods of partial division, the period of division only represents a third of the historical period. Moreover, in history, the periods of great disunity became shorter and shorter, while periods of unity became increasingly long; the scale of unity increased; and the degree of unity rose. Therefore, we can say that national unity has been an inevitable tendency of historical development.

From ancient times, China has been a country of many nationalities. The formation and development of the Chinese people was brought about through the historical process from division to unity, and from small to great unity. Even though, during different periods of history, the various nationalities fought against each other, established different regimes, and experienced division between and among themselves, the realization of national unity was nevertheless the common goal for which all the various nationalities struggled, and struggled determinedly. As soon as the Han nationality, which makes up the vast majority of the Chinese population, established the basis for national unity, all the fraternal nationalities made their own contributions to ending the situation of national division. During the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties period, the Late Zhao established by Shi Le of the Jie nationality, and the Early Qin established by Fu Jian of the Di nationality, both unified many areas in the north of China. The Northern Wei Dynasty, ruled over by Ta Ba of the Xianbei nationality, finally wiped out all the small regimes tearing northern China apart, brought to an end the

division between the Six States, and unified the whole of the north. This was an important step toward reunifying the whole country. Later, the State of Liao established by the Qidan nationality and the State of Jin founded by the Nuzhen nationality, both united the northern region and prepared the conditions for the realization of unity over an even larger area. The Yuan Dynasty founded by the Monggol nationality, and the Qing Dynasty founded by the Manchus, unified the whole country, and the Qing Dynasty in particular established unprecedented unity. Just as Comrade Zhou Enlai once said: "Before the Qing Dynasty, neither the Ming, Song, Tang, Han, or any other dynasty had achieved such unity. The Qing Dynasty played a unifying role."<sup>1</sup> This goes to show that the Chinese race is a strong race possessing a historical force of reunification, or a centripetal force. It was precisely this historical process which consolidated the common national feeling and patriotic tradition of the Chinese people. This historical force of reunification, this centripetal force, is manifested in great political strength directed toward achieving and maintaining the unity of the motherland, so that our tendency toward national unity will not decline for a thousand years, and we will develop and gradually achieve an even higher degree of unity.

National unity is gradually formed by the increasingly strong economic and cultural links between the various regions and nationalities; it is the result of economic and cultural development. After unification, national economic and cultural development is pushed further forward, and mutual exchange is promoted, so that the social forces of production of all the various nationalities and regions is further developed. Periods of division are for the most part characterized by social unrest and the chaos caused by war. Once national unity is achieved, and an atmosphere of peace prevails for a considerable period of time, the broad masses of the people are able to engage in production with relative peace of mind, and thereby enhance their enthusiasm for production. At the same time, the situation is more beneficial to the various nationalities and regions learning from each other and learning from each others' strong points to offset their own weaknesses. Looking at our thousands of years of history, not one period of unity failed to achieve relatively swift recovery and development. If there had been no national unity, the much-praised "civilized government" and "loyal administration," "the heaven-blessed age," the building of the Grand Canal, the great development of foreign trade during the Yuan Dynasty, Tripitaka's great journey to the West, and so on, could not have occurred. It can be said that precisely because of national unification, which greatly promoted the economic and cultural development of all the various regions, the Chinese race was able to create a glorious, radiant culture, bringing our country for a long time into the forefront of the world's civilizations, and producing a profound influence on the East and even the world.

On the advantages of unity, Stalin once said: "If it is not lifted out of the situation of feudal dispersal and fighting between feudal lords, no country in the world can possibly hope to protect its own independence and genuinely effect economic and cultural development. Only a unified, centralized state can possibly hope to really develop economically and

culturally, and to establish its own independence."<sup>2</sup> The facts are precisely these: Historically, the periods in which our country enjoyed power and prosperity were all linked with national unity. Even in modern times, when our country for various reasons dropped behind, it was only because of our long tradition of unity that, when our vast territory and huge population found itself in the situation of rampant invasion by colonialists and imperialists who conspired to cut it up like a melon, people of all the various nationalities throughout the country, one stepping into the breach as another fell, martyred themselves, and carried out a heroic struggle, so that our country was not sliced up, and was not wiped out. Just as Engels said in his discussion of the division in Germany: "Only unity will stop us from taking the same disastrous road as Warsaw and Boulanger; only unity can make us become strong both at home and abroad."<sup>3</sup> These words are highly reasonable.

Of course, when we say that unity brings progress, and division brings destruction, we are talking about general circumstances. In a class society, when the oppressed and exploited laboring people rise up and carry out revolution and struggle for survival, and establish their own regime and base area, though they destroy the old unity, and sacrifice lives, they by no means start with the aim of setting up a separatist regime by force of arms, and causing division, but rather with the aim of winning better conditions for survival, and overthrowing the old reactionary dictators; this is thoroughly correct. Moreover, in our country's history, national unity was often brought about through peasant uprisings and peasant wars. The genuine unity of the people now established in mainland China was also achieved through the establishment of a "separatist regime" by a people's revolutionary war under the leadership of the CPC. Therefore, we must make a strict distinction between this situation and the general meaning of the words unity and division. When reactionary ruling classes raise the flag of maintaining "national unity," and try to wipe out the "separatist regimes" of the oppressed classes, their aim is nothing more than to protect their own reactionary domination, and must absolutely be opposed.

Moreover, the unity which prevailed under the various dynasties in history was often unstable. This is because the economic basis of feudal society is the natural economy, the commodity economy is undeveloped, economic and cultural links between the various nationalities and regions is not sufficiently close, and so the unity lacks a solid base. In a situation of national unity, there can be various degrees of unity. Once central power becomes weak, certain national and regional forces grasp the opportunity to rise up, throw off the control of the central regime, and temporarily disrupt the situation of unity. By modern times, this situation had not changed much; under conditions in which imperialists invaded and manipulated the domestic reactionary regime, our country yet again sank into a situation of effective partition. Only with the establishment of the People's Republic of China and of a socialist economic base, and the consequent elimination of the classes and economic roots which led to national division, did the various nationalities and regions establish inseparably close links, and only then was mainland China able to achieve a unity more genuine than ever before. Though our country's path to unity

has been a tortuous one, nevertheless the realization of national unity has always been the main current of our historical development. Just like the rolling Changjiang River, it has forged its way through mountains and creeks, destroyed all resistance, and surged forward toward its set goal; it is unstoppable.

#### National Unification Has Been the Desire of People of All Nationalities Throughout the Ages

The unification and division of a country is directly related to the interests of its people, affecting their production and life. Without exception, the various nationalities of our country have always yearned for unity, supported unity, and opposed division.

This universal desire of the broad masses of the people has often been indirectly reflected in the speeches and well-known works of the politicians, thinkers, generals and other famous people in history. In the "Spring and Autumn" book composed by Confucius, he proposed the "great unity." Mencius proposed that "stability is oneness,"<sup>4</sup> considering that peace and stability could be achieved only once unity had been created. Xunzi repeatedly praised Shang Tang and Zhou Wu for their outstanding achievement in "bringing about total unification," and considered that "without unity, the lords will fight."<sup>5</sup> Lu Buwei also considered that "adherence to one principle can rule, but adherence to two will produce chaos."<sup>6</sup> Qu Yi and Chao Cuo of the Western Han Dynasty both advocated the "policy of cutting down vassal states," proposing that regional power should be weakened in order to consolidate unity. Dong Zhongshu, on the other hand, took further Confucius' and Mencius' idea of "great unity," considering that "the great unity called for by the 'Spring and Autumn Annals' is something which exists forever, throughout the universe."<sup>7</sup> Zhuhe Liang, of the Three Kingdoms Period, in his famous work "Policies for the Prosperity of China," drew up for Liu Bei the great principle of unifying the whole country. In the Tang Dynasty, faced with the serious fighting between the military governors who controlled outlying prefectures, Han Yu energetically supported the policy of armed suppression; while Liu Zongyuan asserted from a theoretical point of view that it was an inevitable trend of historical development for the system of prefectures and counties to take over from the feudal system (the system of enfeoffment); "If the world can converge into one,"<sup>8</sup> This means historical progress. Wang Fuzhi, of the late Ming and early Qing, was also of the opinion that Qinshi Huang's abandonment of the system of enfeoffment in favor of the system of prefectures and counties was a "great change in heaven and earth," and "the tendency of the situation."<sup>9</sup> With the coming of modern times, in the face of the slicing up of China by colonialists and imperialists, a great number of thinkers and revolutionaries, full of the passionate desire to save the country and its people, ran everywhere crying out against division and in support of national unity. Kang Youwei said: "China can only be unified; it cannot be split up, still less can it become a federation";<sup>10</sup> and he proclaimed his own "love of one great China, a unified China."<sup>11</sup> The great revolutionary pioneer Mr Sun Yat-sen struggled even harder throughout his life for national unification. He said: "After unification, all reforms will be possible": only after unification could

there be "genuine people's rule," only then could we "fight together against the great powers on an equal footing with them."<sup>12</sup> In his opinion, the fighting between the Northern Warlords and the division of China was "actually created by the great powers,"<sup>13</sup> and only by getting rid of foreign invading forces would it be possible to reunify China. Though they were made during different historical periods, and started from different angles, all of these proposals without exception reflected the opposition of the broad masses of the people to division, their passionate desire for unity, and the objective demands of historical development.

The desire of the broad masses of the people for national unification is also directly reflected in the struggles waged in order to eliminate separatist regimes. Examples of this in history are too numerous to mention individually. As the classical saying goes, if you act according to the will of the people, the whole world is yours. The national reunifications under successive dynasties in the past always relied for their achievement on popular support. This was the case with the Qin, Han, Western Jin, and Sui Dynasties, and the quelling of "the chaos of Anshi" and the separatist regimes set up by the Tang military governors was also like this; as was the suppression of the "armed rebellion of the military governors" Wu Sangui, Geng Jingchong, and Shang Zhixin, and other divisive activities, by the Qing Dynasty's Kang Xi and Gian Long. The process of Kang Xi's suppression of the big slaveowners in Xizang, Gian Long's suppression of Da Waqi's rebellion in Mongolia, and the prompt suppression of the Huojizhan rebellion, all received the enthusiastic support of the upper and lower strata of the Zang, Monggol, and Uighur nationalities. When the Qing Army arrived, the people of all nationalities "in their hundred and thousands, lined the streets, presenting wine, sheep and horses"<sup>14</sup> in enthusiastic welcome. Later, when Zuo Zongtang suppressed the invasionary and divisive activities of Agubai, the chieftain of the Haohan Army from the Middle East, who was supported by the British invaders, people of all nationalities in Xinjiang not only gave grain and horses, acted as informants for the Qing Army, guided them, and found water sources for them, but also participated directly in the fighting, greatly enhancing the strength of the Qing forces, and enabling them to "travel over 3,000 li in 1 month, in the freezing wastes of the Gobi Desert."<sup>15</sup> These struggles to eliminate division objectively reflected the wishes of the people, accorded with the people's interests, and therefore won the widespread support of the masses.

In modern times, when China faced the serious threat of invasion and partition by imperialists and colonialists, the desire of the masses to protect national unity and independence was even more directly manifested in their ceaseless struggle against the invaders. From the flames of resistance against invasion kindled by the people of Sanguanli in Guangzhou to the head-on blows dealt to the "foreign artillery," the "Changan Army" and the "Changjie Army" by the soldiers of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom led by Hong Xiuquan; from the brave war of resistance fought by Liu Bingfu and Feng Zicai to the heroic battle fought by the various nationalities in the northeast region in order to protect the sacred territory of their motherland, the Chinese people's struggles to protect the national unity of their motherland were repeated and unceasing. With the advent of the Boxer



Movement, the masses of the people stood even more in the forefront of the anti-invasionary struggle, carrying out an indomitable, life-or-death struggle with the 8-nation allied army, and giving the imperialists the strong feeling that slicing up the country like a melon was a very dangerous thing. In the face of the people's struggle, the colonialist, imperialist conspiracy to divide China up could succeed temporarily, but could not but end in failure. This is something which has been repeatedly proved in modern Chinese history.

The CPC is the representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Carrying on our people's fine tradition of opposing division and protecting unity, right from the first day of its founding, the CPC courageously took responsibility for the heavy task of opposing imperialism and feudalism, bringing the revolution to victory, bringing an end to the division of the Northern Warlords, and achieving national reunification. The "manifesto" of the Second CPC National Congress in 1922 clearly stated the struggle goals of "eliminating internal strife, overthrowing the warlords, and establishing domestic peace," "overthrowing the oppression of international imperialists, and achieving the complete independence of the Chinese people," and "unifying China (including the three eastern provinces) into a genuinely democratic republic." In the party's newspaper GUIDANCE, Comrade Cai Hesen wrote a famous essay, which said: "One of the fundamental aims of the Chinese revolution is the demand for national reunification," "overthrowing armed separatist regimes and putting an end to civil strife will deliver the people from hell."<sup>16</sup> At the same time, our party actively established a united front with the KMT, mobilized the masses, carried out the Northern Expedition, dealt a severe blow to the Northern Warlords, and united half of China. Over the 20 years or so following the failure of the Great Revolution [1924-1927] the CPC united the various strata of people, laid down their lives, and made huge sacrifices for the agrarian reform, the anti-Japanese war, and the war of liberation; finally, in 1949, came the victory of the democratic revolution and the achievement of national unification on the mainland. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "National division, abominated by the people, has now gone, never to return."<sup>17</sup> The fundamental reason for the CPC's ability to do this lay in the fact that its attitude to the people was different from any exploiting class. Under certain conditions, exploiting classes and their different cliques can reflect certain of the demands of the masses, but they always fear the people, and lack the courage or the possibility to fully mobilize and rely on the masses. The CPC had Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide, and was therefore able to have full confidence in the masses, support their demands, and mobilize and organize the people to achieve their own desires.

From the thousands of years of history of the Chinese people, we can see that the achievement and maintenance of national unity is the will of the people. Precisely because they went along with the wishes of the people and therefore won popular support, many famous personages in history managed to make outstanding achievements in bringing about national unification. Some people (even though they did bad things, treating the people as their enemies), purely because they opposed division and supported unity, or

because they made contributions in their actual behavior to the unification of the country, their achievements won the respect and memory of those who came after them. Those who were divisive, on the other hand, never won popular support. This was true in the past, and is even more true now. Today, the unity between the various nationalities of China is as solid as a rock, the unity of our socialist motherland is highly stable, and whoever wants to destroy this situation, no matter what means they use, will be going against the wishes of the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and will therefore be despised by the people, and will never win their support. The will of the people is irresistible, and if you lose the support of the people you are bound to fail. Everybody should remember forever this highly valuable lesson of history.

#### The Great Cause of National Reunification Is Bound To Be Successfully Achieved

Now, the great cause of total reunification of the motherland has naturally encountered the problem of Taiwan, which is still separated from the mainland. This has been a question of great concern to the people since 1949.

For 34 years now, Taiwan has been separated from the mainland; families have been divided and have no way of reuniting, and the race, the country, and the people have suffered a huge loss; this has all along been a source of keenly felt pain to people on both sides of the strait. Bringing this situation of division to an end represents the need of the people and the state; it is the common desire of both the 1 billion people on the mainland and the 18 million people in Taiwan, and the common demand of our compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao, and abroad. It is the epitome of the patriotic tradition of opposing division and upholding national unity.

From ancient times, Taiwan was the sacred territory of China; its politics, economics and culture have always been intimately linked with the mainland. According to recent reports, after many years of research, our compatriot Liao Souchen of the Ataya tribe of the Gaoshan nationality in Hualien County, Taiwan Province, wrote his famous work "The Culture of the Ataya Tribe," in which he said: The forefathers of the Ataya tribe of the Gaoshan nationality used to be called the Yueliao Clan; they used to live in the middle and lower reaches of the Changjiang River on the mainland, and about 4,000 years ago, after passing from place to place, arrived in Taiwan, becoming a branch of the Chinese race; Taiwan's early cultural history was 80 percent part of the mainland's system. Right from the time of the Three Kingdoms, links between Taiwan and the mainland became increasingly intimate. Due to various reasons, though Taiwan was several times separated from the mainland, with the common efforts of the people of all nationalities, it was always reunited with the motherland after a period of time. Leaving aside ancient times, in the last 300 years or so, Taiwan has been divided from the mainland three times, and has three times reunited with it. The first separation came as a result of the invasion of Taiwan by the Dutch colonists in 1624, who made Taiwan their colony. In 1662, Zheng Chenggong, a people's hero, led a great army, and succeeded in driving out the Dutch colonists, upheld the sovereignty of the motherland, and brought Taiwan back



into the arms of the motherland. Not long after, Zheng Chenggong became ill and passed away, and his son Zheng Jing grasped power, setting up a separatist regime on Taiwan. In 1683, the Qing Emperor recovered Taiwan, and turned it into a prefecture with three counties, which came under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province. With this, the problem of Taiwan's second separation was solved, and Taiwan once again came under the jurisdiction of the central regime. This unity was maintained for over 200 years. In 1885, following the defeat of the Qing government in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan forcibly occupied and separated Taiwan, and only then was it divided from the motherland for the third time. In 1945, when the Chinese people won the war against the Japanese invaders, Taiwan once again returned to the bosom of the motherland. This period of history fully shows that the reunification of Taiwan with the motherland, like the process from division to unity throughout the whole of China, is the inevitable tendency of historical development.

Each time Taiwan was divided from the mainland, whether this division was the result of colonialism, imperialist invasion, or domestic separatism, economic and cultural links between the two sides of the strait were cut off, which was of tremendous disadvantage to the development of all the Chinese nationalities, and therefore came under resolute opposition from the people of both Taiwan and the mainland. When the Dutch colonialists invaded Taiwan in 1624, the people of the Gaoshan and Han nationalities carried out repeated resistance, and in 1652 came the uprising led by Guo Huaiyi. When Zheng Chenggong's army drove out the Dutch colonialists, "the local men and women filled the streets to greet them," and the Gaoshan nationality people "responded to the call to submit to the authority of the state, and followed them,"<sup>18</sup> treating Zheng Chenggong as part of their family from the motherland. When Zheng Jing and his son Zheng Keshuang maintained the division, and prevented reunification, they ended up being totally isolated. When the Emperor Kang Xi dispatched an army led by Shi Lang to restore order in Taiwan, "the common people followed them along the road with gifts of wine, and the sailors raised the Qing flag in welcome."<sup>19</sup> In 1895, when China and Japan signed the treaty of Shimonoseki, the people of the whole country were filled with bitter hatred; the people of Taiwan held strikes and demonstrations and called everybody to arms, determining to fight to the death against the Japanese occupation. In the face of the fierce attacks of the advancing Japanese invasionary forces, the Taiwanese people of all nationalities were prepared to lay down their lives, and conducted an epic armed struggle under the leadership of Liu Yongfu and Xu Xiang; thus they killed or injured over 36,000 Japanese invaders, dealing them a heavy blow. During the 50 years of Japanese occupation, the Taiwanese engaged in armed resistance and uprisings over 12 times, and generally speaking, their aim was to reunify Taiwan with the motherland. This fully demonstrates the fact that the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland is the fervent desire of the people on both shores of the strait. And because the division between Taiwan and the mainland fundamentally goes against the will and interests of these people, it can only be temporary.

The CPC is the inheritor and the cultivator of the Chinese people's fine tradition, and has always worked hard and dauntlessly for the reunification of the country. As soon as the country was founded, our party drew up the principle and policy of national reunification. In 1954, Premier Zhou Enlai pointed out that under certain conditions our party is willing to strive to solve the Taiwan problem by peaceful methods. After that, our party repeatedly stressed that all patriots belong to one big family, whether they rally to the common cause early or late, and hoped that the compatriots of the whole country and the Overseas Chinese compatriots living abroad would make contributions to the reunification of the motherland. On New Year's Day 1979, the NPC Standing Committee issued a "letter to the compatriots on Taiwan," which solemnly announced the main guidelines for achieving national reunification. Not long after that, our party advocated accomplishing as soon as possible postal, navigational, and commercial links and economic, scientific and cultural exchanges between the two sides of the strait. On the eve of the 32d anniversary of the founding of the state, NPC Standing Committee Chairman Ye Jianying put forward a nine-point proposal for reciprocal talks between the CPC and the KMT, for bringing about the third cooperation between the two parties.

At the rally marking the 70th anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, Comrade Hu Yaobang, as a responsible person of the CPC, issued an invitation to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and others to discuss cooperation. On 24 July 1982, NPC Standing Committee Vice Chairman Liao Chengzhi issued a "Letter to Mr Chiang Ching-kuo," advising him to summon up resolve at an early date and gain centuries of merit for success in the peaceful reunification of the motherland. On 4 June 1983, Comrade Deng Yingchao solemnly stated in her "Opening Speech at the First Session of the Sixth National CPC Committee": "We respect history and reality. We will take full account of the aspirations of the people of all nationalities on Taiwan and the plight of the Taiwan authorities. We will take account of the future as well as the present.

"After the reunification of the motherland, the CPC and the KMT will cooperate and coexist for a long time to come, and supervise each other. After the reunification of the motherland, Taiwan, as a special administrative region, can practice systems different to those on the mainland, and we can supplement and support each other. Wealth and strength for the state and prosperity for the people can only be gained by genuine reunification on a realistic basis. It is patriotic to agree to the reunification of the motherland. Under the big premise of unity, all questions can be discussed and a fair and just solution will eventually be found." "The Taiwan problem is one of China's internal affairs, which brooks no foreign interference." On 6 June 1983, Premier Zhao Ziyang stated in his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the First Session of the Sixth NPC: "We must continue to work for an early end to the artificial division between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait." These proposals have been enthusiastically supported by the people of the whole country and the Overseas Chinese compatriots living abroad, and have also been commended by all our foreign friends.

Now, accomplishing the great cause of reunifying the motherland has become a new irresistible tide of history. "Suit the tide of the world and meet the masses' needs"<sup>20</sup> was a famous dictum of Mr Sun Yat-sen, which expressed the lofty spirit of a great patriot in actively forging ahead. To be patriotic means to want a reunified China. As far as the present moment is concerned, it means suiting the new tide of history of national reunification and exerting every effort to accomplish total national reunification. We believe that, so long as all those who fervently love the motherland regard the interests of the Chinese nation and of the entire Chinese people as the most important thing, abandon previous ill will, unite as one, and make tangible efforts, the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland of the motherland can certainly be accomplished at an early date.

#### FOOTNOTES

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4. "Mencius," Annotations to Chapter Liang Hui Wang, Part 1.
5. Xunzi, "Monarchical Systems."
6. "Lu Buwei's Spring and Autumn Annals," Vol 17, "Adherence to Oneness."
7. "History of the Former Han Dynasty," Vol 56: "Biography of Dong Zhongshu."
8. "Collected Works of Liu Zhongyuan," Vol 3: "On Feudalism."
9. Wang Fuzhi, "On History as a Mirror," Vols 1, 2.
10. "Collected Political Essays of Kang Youwei," Book 2, p 693.
11. NEW PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE, No 16.
12. "Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen," p 521.
13. Ibid., p 587.
14. Wei Yuan, "Records of Warrior Sages," Vol 4: "How Emperor Gian Long Wiped Out the Zungary Clan."
15. "Collected Works of Zuo Zongtang," Vol 55.
16. "Collected Works of Cai Hesen," p 771.

17. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 363.
18. "True Records of How Yang Ying, a Subordinate of Koxinga, Followed Him To Mount Attacks."
19. "Records of Pacifying the Seas," Vol 4.
20. "Selected Works of Sun Yat-sen," p 191.

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## ON HARMFUL EFFECTS AND CAUSES OF DUPLICATE CONSTRUCTION AND WAYS TO STOP IT

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[Article by Zho Chuntai [1563 2504 0669] and Xiao Jie [5135 2212]]

[Text] There Has Been a Great Deal of Duplicate Construction

Duplicate construction means that the scale of construction of the same category of projects is arbitrarily extended without consideration for objective needs and feasibility, while there is still excessive productive capacity which is not fully utilized. This kind of construction often proceeds from partial interests without a study of overall feasibility. Therefore, it involves a high degree of blindness.

Duplicate construction is carried out on a varying scale in various localities, departments, and sectors. There are many forms of duplicate construction:

1. Before an adequate supply of materials, raw materials, and energy resources has been guaranteed, and before the productive capacity of the existing enterprises is fully utilized, the capacity in the production of the same category of products is expanded, or new projects are built, while some existing enterprises are closed down or must stop production. This situation is described by the following saying: "New factories continue to be built while old factories do not have enough assigned tasks." This problem is most markedly reflected in the unchecked development of various kinds of poorly equipped small factories which use backward technology.
2. Despite the possibility of expanding productive capacity through cooperation among specialized units, comprehensive factories which are "large and complete" or "small and complete" continue to be built. Many factories have to seal part of their equipment for safekeeping because of insufficient production tasks and a very low utilization rate of equipment.
3. Many factories are blindly built in a fit of mass action when the supply of some products falls short of demand. Consequently, overstocking and waste occur when supply exceeds demand, or products are not marketable if technology is not up to standard in production.

4. Even though market demand and supply are basically in equilibrium, projects that are not planned by the state, including the building of new enterprises and the enlargement of old ones, continue to be blindly carried out, so that the increased productive capacity greatly surpasses actual social needs.

Other things such as duplicate importation also form part of this problem.

#### Duplicate Construction Brings About Numerous Harmful Effects But No Benefits at All

In a word, the disadvantage of duplicate construction is that it brings about numerous harmful effects but no benefits at all. From the viewpoint of economic benefit, the question is not whether the economic benefit is great or small. If it is small, it is still a positive number after all. If there is no economic benefit, the number is merely zero. However, duplicate construction gives a negative number; it yields negative economic benefit. Specifically, there are three main harmful effects:

First, duplicate construction leads to a waste of capital funds. A reason why capital construction investment repeatedly increased over the past few years is that investment in duplicate construction could not be checked. Compared with 1978 figures, in 1982, budgeted capital construction investment decreased by 33.7 percent, but unbudgeted investment financed by various kinds of loans, self-raised funds, and so on increased by 230 percent. These unbudgeted investment funds were scattered among tens of thousands of different units. The use of these funds could not be planned or controlled. A considerable portion was used for expanding the productive capacity of ordinary processing industries. Out of this, a substantial proportion was used for duplicate construction. After the completion of the duplicate construction projects, some of them could not begin operation because of a shortage of materials, raw materials, and energy resources, and some produced poor quality products which were unmarketable in a market saturated with the same products, thus resulting in overstocking. That is to say, the input does not yield any output and money is wasted. Comrade Chen Yun solemnly remarked: "If we occasionally waste small sums of money, we can ask the people to forgive us. If we always waste money year after year, the people will not forgive us. The money comes from the ordinary people and we must not frivolously waste it."

Second, duplicate construction involves the shifting of one's troubles onto others. If a duplicate construction project cannot go into operation, then the loss is merely limited to the waste of a given sum of capital funds. However, things are not so simple. The enterprise or unit thus set up would desperately struggle to compete with other enterprises for raw materials and energy resources, or would even undermine others' foundation by various despicable means. For example, cigarette factories are set up in localities which produce tobacco, and textile mills are set up where cotton is produced, without any consideration of the relationship of cooperation between neighboring units or localities. It is thought that the setting up of such factories would bring about some economic benefit. Actually,



however, for each yuan of income earned by these factories, the income of other localities or units would be reduced by 2 or 3 yuan or even more. Thus, the units which are set up through duplicate construction without consideration of the overall situation, which compete with other enterprises for productive resources, and which shift their own troubles onto others, cause a waste of manpower and financial resources and bring about more loss than gain.

Third, duplicate construction affects the overall situation. First, the state's key construction projects are affected. The large numbers of duplicate construction projects use up part of our country's limited quantities of building materials. Thus, the availability of materials and raw materials needed for the state's key construction projects cannot be guaranteed. Consequently, either construction costs rise, or the time needed for completion of the construction projects increases. Second, duplicate construction leads to a disproportion in social reproduction. A prominent current phenomenon is that whereas there is surplus capacity in the processing industries, the supply of energy resources, materials, and raw materials is inadequate and communications and transportation facilities are insufficient. A large proportion of many enterprises' fixed assets lie idle and their productive capacity is not fully utilized. Third, the overall arrangement of production is disrupted. The irrational composition of investment leads to an irrational production structure and an anomalous structure of enterprise organization. Very few of the nearly 400,000 industrial enterprises in our country organize production according to the principle of cooperation among specialized enterprises. Instead, there are numerous "large and complete" and "small and complete" enterprises. How can such an organizational structure have superiority? Fourth, macroeconomic benefit is reduced. From the partial point of view, certain duplicate construction projects do yield some economic benefit. However, such microeconomic benefit is achieved at the expense of macroeconomic benefit. Moreover, some projects do not even yield any microeconomic benefit at all. From the macroeconomic viewpoint, duplicate construction which gives negative benefit lowers the existing level of economic benefit. This is an important reason why for many years it has been impossible to enhance various categories of economic benefit in our country.

The three major crimes of duplicate construction are the waste of money, the shifting of one's troubles onto others, and the affecting of the overall situation. How can an economically underdeveloped country such as ours, with a weak foundation and a large population, tolerate the continued persistence of duplicate construction? We must expose the facts about duplicate construction, adopt suitable remedial measures, and rigorously stop it.

#### Why Is There Duplicate Construction?

If duplicate construction brings about numerous harmful effects and no benefit at all, and people are not completely unaware of such effects, why does duplicate construction continue to be carried out and why can it not

be effectively checked? There are both subjective reasons and objective conditions which must be analyzed concretely.

When our country achieved victory in revolution and began to build socialism, it was basically a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Because of the low level of development of the productive forces and because of unbalanced development, over a long period of time, various forms of economy must coexist, the production and exchange of commodities must be developed, and regulation by market mechanism within certain limits must be used to supplement planned production and circulation. Because various localities and economic units have their own partial interests and because of the existence of exchange at equal value, departmental selfishness, and decentralism, marked by consideration of partial interests at the expense of overall interests, as well as duplicate construction, marked by undermining of and deviation from centralized state planning, would inevitably occur. Moreover, because regulation by market mechanism exists within certain limits and the law of value spontaneously plays a regulatory role, therefore, when there is a temporary shortage of certain products which leads to a rise in their prices, people would scramble to produce them, and when there is a temporary glut of certain products which lead to price decrease, the production of such products would be forced to be reduced or stopped. This is the objective economic condition giving rise to duplicate construction.

Of course, this definitely does not mean that under socialist conditions, duplicate construction is destined to continue to occur; and it is an even greater mistake to say that we are destined to be unable to stop it. A system of socialist planned economy that is constantly being perfected, the building of a spiritual civilization whose core is the communist ideology, and a relationship of socialist cooperation that arises from public ownership and embodies the essence of public ownership, constitute a basic condition for a guaranteed planned proportionate national economic development, for the successful resistance of the invasion of various erroneous ideologies, and for the successful overcoming and curbing of duplicate construction. Therefore, for the sake of taking suitable remedial measures, having a definite object in view, and really effectively curbing duplicate construction, we should find out the subjective reasons. The main subjective reasons are as follows:

1. Over many years, our economic work has been influenced by "leftist" ideology. We are impatient for success. Whenever we talk about development of production, we would think of starting new projects, launching new programs, boosting production capacity, and expanding the scale of capital construction. Moreover, like "a hungry man who does not consider the choice of food," in formulating construction plans, we do not adequately and thoroughly consider the availability of natural resources, raw materials, and sources of power, the level of technology, the marketing of products, and so on. In the absence of feasibility studies, conscientious investigation and study, and scientific proof, a minority of leaders make final decisions for the launching of projects. This way of doing things embodies a high degree of blindness and inevitably results in duplicate construction.

2. The building of a relatively independent industrial system within the scope of a single province or autonomous region is stressed one-sidedly. This tendency appeared on a varying scale in 1958, 1970, and 1978, resulting in a great deal of duplicate construction. The building of "large and complete" as well as "small and complete" enterprises has been blindly pursued. Modern industry should be built on the basis of cooperation between specialized units. To attempt to build an absolutely self-sufficient independent system of production within a single province, region, or enterprise is both unrealistic and irrational.

3. The principle of developing one's superiority is interpreted in a one-sided way. It is thought that one invariably has superiority in whatever materials or raw materials produced by oneself. For example, a locality that produces tobacco would think that tobacco is tantamount to its own superiority, and that to develop this superiority, it must run cigarette factories. Actually, if you thus use the tobacco yourself, what would happen to those well established old factories which have a higher technological standard? Moreover, the locality in question has not considered its own shortcomings, such as its low technological standard, and so on.

4. The relationship between delegation of power to lower authorities and decentralization on one side and concentration of power and centralization on the other is interpreted in a one-sided way, leading to decentralization of the power to invest in fixed assets. In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Because some reform measures are not comprehensive and our management work has not correspondingly kept pace with the developments, the undermining and disruption of unified state planning have become more serious." The expression "reform measures are not comprehensive" here refers to the fact that although power has been delegated to lower levels and the localities, departments and enterprises have more money now (which are necessary developments), measures of control, and centralization that are called for have not been adopted, and instead of using their money for technological transformation and equipment renewal, the localities, departments, and enterprises use a considerable proportion of their money to build new projects.

5. Economic levers have not played their appropriate roles. Sometimes they even work in the opposite direction and furnish conditions for the carrying out of irrational construction projects. For example, the production of certain materials, raw materials, and fuels is not profitable because of their low prices, while the processing industries are profitable because of the high prices for their products, and this objectively encourages people to carry out duplicate construction in the field of processing industries. Considering taxation, the tax rates applicable to high-priced and profitable products have not been opportunely readjusted so as to regulate the profit levels of the enterprises concerned according to necessity. In some cases, there is regulation (for example, cigarette factories have to pay heavy taxes and are consequently not profitable), but tax revenue continues to go to local authorities as their income, and these localities naturally want to protect these sources of tax revenue.

Moreover, the relevant departments under the CPC Central Committee neither adequately master nor fully use economic means; the communication of economic information is blocked; and we do not have a sound legal system. These are also reasons why for such a long time we have been unable to check duplicate construction.

#### The Methods and Measures for Checking Duplicate Construction

We must overcome our impatience and our ideology must be unified on the basis of the strategic measure of making a two-step effort, which was decided upon at the 12th CPC Congress. During the first decade, we must lay a good foundation, and create favorable conditions, for the economic invigoration of the subsequent decade, by successfully developing various categories of strategic key construction, particularly energy resources and communications. We must not try to accomplish two steps all at once by indiscriminately starting many projects simultaneously. If we are impatient for success and blindly make a rash advance, the outcome would be contrary to our expectations and we would find that haste makes waste. A clear-cut guiding ideology concerning the aims, procedures, and methods of construction constitutes a basic condition for the successful checking of duplicate construction.

We must strengthen education concerning consideration of the overall situation and enhance the cadres' consciousness. Ours is a socialist country. In running the planned economy and carrying out economic construction, we must persist in viewing the whole country as a single game of chess and focus our attention on the overall situation of our entire economy. In a war, if a battle is detrimental to the overall situation, the result will be defeat even if victory is achieved elsewhere. If we do not consider the entire situation, we would be unable to make a really good move. The same principle applies to economic construction. A construction project that is disadvantageous to the overall situation will ultimately be disadvantageous to the development of various parts of the economy.

We must put an end to the decentralization in policy formulation and strengthen the planned and centralized management of investment in fixed assets. Investment in fixed assets affects the distribution of industry, the structure of production, and the long-term development of our national economy. We must proceed from the overall situation to undertake planning and centralized management. At present, there are too many channels through which capital funds can be raised for investment in fixed assets, so that such investment is liable to deviate from the track of planning. It is an urgent necessity to strengthen comprehensive equilibrium, and in particular, to control unbudgeted investment. 1) The total amount of capital construction investment must be controlled, so that the scale of construction becomes compatible with our available national resources. 2) The power to examine and approve investment must be appropriately centralized, and the orientation of capital construction investment must be rigorously controlled. At present, the following categories must be rigorously controlled: investment in products that are in excess supply on a national scale despite a shortage in their supply in some localities or sectors; investment

in those industries in which the existing enterprises do not have enough work to do because of a lack of raw materials or energy resources; investment in building enterprises which would compete with existing ones for raw materials and energy resources; and investment in those industries in which productive capacity can be alternatively increased through the organization of specialized companies or integrated companies, or through cooperation between specialized units. 3) Concerning the renewal and transformation of old enterprises' fixed assets, we should formulate plans for individual industries and reasonable technological-economic policies. Such renewal and transformation must be carried out in a planned way, step by step, and with emphasis on key tasks. 4) Whether in the building of new enterprises or the expansion of existing ones, or in equipment renewal and technological transformations, we must have adequate scientific study, do a good job of preparatory work before the initial stage of construction, rigorously work according to the procedures for capital construction prescribed by the state, and exercise supervision through the banks.

In conjunction with enterprise consolidation, industrial reorganization and integration must be quickened. The organizational structure of existing enterprises is marked by overlapping and laxity, resulting in low efficiency in production and great waste. It is necessary to rationally organize the enterprises through specialization and cooperation. According to the principle of selecting optimum alternatives and eliminating inferior ones, some enterprises should close down, stop production, or merge with other enterprises or shift to other occupations if necessary, without prolonged hesitation. In the future, in all cases in which productive capacity can be increased through cooperation between localities or between industries on the basis of specialization, new factories must not be built for the sake of increasing production capacity. Through reorganization and integration, cooperative relationships in the supply of materials, raw materials, and fuels should be stabilized and should be guaranteed legally through economic contracts, so that the taking away of materials, raw materials, and energy resources from existing enterprises by duplicate construction projects can be avoided. If cooperative relationships can be terminated arbitrarily and contracts are not executed, duplicate construction will not be effectively checked.

Relevant existing policies and systems must be readjusted and the role of various economic levers must be fully brought into play. All economic levers, including pricing, taxation, profits, loans, and so on, should vigorously work in opposition to duplicate construction so that it can be eliminated. Important means of economic operation must be centralized by the central authorities. In this respect, certain categories of experience in the transformation of the private sector of the economy during the initial period after the founding of the PRC should be taken as reference.

Market forecasting must be strengthened and economic information must be opportunely made available. A specific locality or enterprise cannot easily have a clear view of the overall situation because it usually pays attention to immediate or partial needs alone on account of its own position. Therefore, it is often difficult to know whether the building of

an enterprise or a project is duplicate construction. Therefore, the forecasting of the trends of future economic development and the trends of changes in market demand must be strengthened, and various categories of economic information must be opportunely supplied to various localities, departments, and enterprises.

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## MANY A LITTLE MAKES A MICKLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 p 38

[Article by Xu Jianyi [1776 1696 0001]]

[Text] In the ancient language of our nation, there was a saying: "Many a little makes a mickle." The so-called a little here refers to bits of hair grown on the body of the fox near the legs. Such bits of hair are few but of high quality and are the best materials for the making of overcoats. Here, many a little makes a mickle means that although the bits of hair are few, they can be collected and processed into "pure-white overcoats." This sentence serves as a good reference for us at present in collecting the necessary funds for state key construction projects.

The main idea of this saying is collecting. Although such bits of hair are precious, they are too little. Therefore, they cannot be made into overcoats and will be useless unless they are, first of all, put together. Similarly, the key for making rational use of our funds also lies in our effort to collect them. If the funds are used in a scattered manner, without the necessary concentration, it will be difficult for these funds to display their role well. The economic situation of our country has been improving over the past few years; as a consequence, we have more funds. But most funds are scattered, in the hands of various enterprises, departments, and localities, and there is not enough concentration. This situation has resulted in the fact that the planned key construction projects have been affected while the projects that are not included in the planning have been carried out haphazardly, causing shortages in the supply of raw materials and energy. This situation must be changed. Of course, it does not mean that all funds must be concentrated and used in a unified manner and that we will take the old method by which all funds were centralized and used in a unified manner. This is because with this method, there are many shortcomings. It only means that we must concentrate the funds that should be centralized by the state and used in key construction projects. This measure is very important for the realization of the modernization program.

Centralization and scatter are dialectically related. If we have enormous funds but use them in a scattered manner, these funds seem few; if the funds are not much and yet we are able to use them in a concentrated manner,

they seem enormous. When Comrade Mao Zedong was summing up the experiences of the battles fought by the Red Army, he stressed on a number of occasions that under the situation in which the enemy was strong and we were weak, we must be good at concentrating our forces to attack the enemy's flank so as to "turn the enemy's strategic superiority over our forces into our combat or tactical advantages over the enemy" in order to win victory. This dialectical ideology of concentrating superior forces to turn our weak position and the enemy's strong position into their opposites has an important guiding implication for us today regarding how to solve well the problem of concentration and scatter of funds in carrying out economic construction. During the First 5-Year Plan of our country, we concentrated our financial and material power and consequently completed the building of 156 key projects. This measure represents a successful experience. We are now working to realize step by step the strategic goal set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress. In order to guarantee the completion of key projects, it is also imperative for us to concentrate financial and material power. Ours is a vast country with a huge population. If we use our financial and material power in a scattered manner, there will be no guarantee for key projects. On the other hand, if we are able to concentrate both financial and material power, there will be enough funds for key projects and we can complete a number of big projects. For example, if each of the 1 billion people of our country is able to save 1 fen per day, we will be able to collect 3.6 billion yuan annually. This figure may mean little if it is used in a scattered manner, but it can display a big role if it is used in a concentrated manner.

The funds that are scattered in the hands of various enterprises, departments, and localities can be likened to the bits of fox hair, while the funds that are needed by key construction projects can be likened to overcoats. Overcoats can be produced only when we first collect the bits of hair. This is easy to understand.

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## WRITERS AND ARTISTS MUST ALSO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO MASTERING THEORIES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 39-40

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402]]

[Text] The clarion call to build socialist spiritual civilization is summoning writers and artists to actively open up a new situation in literary and art creation.

Following the "blooming" a few years ago, a pleasing new atmosphere appeared in artistic works and a whole series of refreshing new works poured forth. At the same time, mediocre, superficial works constantly appeared in print, on the stage, and on the screen, making up the bulk of new works, and there were also a small minority of works which went against the road of socialist art development. Overall, and particularly in terms of quality, literary and art creation still fails to satisfy the ever-increasing needs of the people. How can we effect a general improvement in the standard of our literary and artistic works, create a new situation, and meet the needs of the building of socialist spiritual civilization? To do this, we will have to work hard in many spheres. One of these, and an exceptionally important one, is that writers and artists must strengthen their mastery of Marxist theory.

Do people engaged in creative work have to master theory? Some people deny this. They say: Creative work relies on talent and artistic sensitivity, and people will be writers and performers whether or not they study theory. Some say themselves that they "have nothing to do with theory." Still others consider that the more you study theory, the less able you are to produce artistic works of value, and so on. It is highly necessary to clarify these questions of understanding.

Certainly, unlike theoretical workers, writers and artists have their own styles and particular ways of observing and reflecting life. But as an activity of dynamic understanding, literary and artistic creation cannot overstep the common laws of understanding. Only if you understand something can you feel it more deeply, and writers and artists are no exception. In the process of creation, intuition and the ability to feel things directly have their own irreplaceable status and role, but only by rising dynamically from perceptual to rational knowledge can a writer or

an artist possibly come to grasp the essence of life and thereby create works which vividly and deeply reflect life. Theory is the systematization of rational knowledge. Training in theoretical thinking, and mastery of theory, is an important link in improving an artist's ability to understand and reflect life and an essential path to improving his or her aesthetic judgment. Balzac said: Art is the "crystallization of thought," "artistic works consist in concentrating a vast amount of thought into a tiny area." Cherniyshevskiy put it even more clearly: "An artist who is not sufficiently gifted and who does not, at the same time, make himself into a thinker, is incapable of great things." Mediocre thinking inevitably produces mediocre work, and superficial theories produce superficial work. Almost all the outstanding artists of history, both in China and abroad, were thinkers of their age; certainly, they produced special theoretical works, but they also had a deeper understanding of social life. It stands to reason that a proletarian, socialist writer or artist must possess a certain mastery of Marxist theory, and first he must have the ideological weapons of a dialectical materialist viewpoint and methodology.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Studying Marxism means that we must observe the world, society, and literature and art with a dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint; it does not mean that we should write philosophical propositions in the middle of our literary and artistic works." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 831) The reason why there existed for a long time in the past the maladies of generalization and politicization in our literary and artistic works (the decade of internal strife is, of course, another matter) lies in the dogmatic attitude adopted toward theory, the narrow understanding of the relations between art and politics, and the overlooking of the characteristics of literature and art itself, not in the stress on studying Marxist theory. Today, we should correctly sum up our positive and negative experiences; we should not give up eating for fear of choking. Marxist theory is no substitute for creative methods, but it does form the basis of revolutionary realism, revolutionary romanticism, and the combination of the two. Marxism is the only scientific theoretical system concerning the laws of the social development of mankind. Only under the guidance of Marxism can you really use revolutionary realism, revolutionary romanticism, or a "unity of the two" as creative methods to deeply reflect the essence of real life and then expose the overall tendency of the whole of social development (this is the basic indication of what makes socialist literature and art superior to all other literature and art), inspiring the people to push forward the process of history. Of the outstanding works of revolutionary realism, revolutionary romanticism, and a combination of the two which have appeared in the garden of socialist literature and art, which has not radiated with brand-new ideological colors absorbed from Marxism? Conversely, the reason why many works over the past few years were mediocre, shallow, and even in bad taste was that their authors overlooked the mastery of Marxist theory and lacked a deep understanding and grasp of the things they described. They do not understand that artistic form is entirely dictated by and subordinate to a certain ideology, that the basis of the artistic value of any work is dependent on the nature of the thinking and morals expressed by the typical figures which it molds, and that any

outstanding work is naturally linked with the lofty thoughts and high morals expressed through the images it creates. Mediocre works, on the other hand, are either stories made up arbitrarily, divorced from reality, or are engrossed in making up some fashionable descriptions or performances. They fail to raise any thought-provoking problems or to give their readers or audience the enjoyment of profitable thinking and lofty, memorable beauty. Naturally, they cannot have much vitality. To be honest, the authors of these mediocre works have not only failed to put forward the ideal which they must struggle for, but they themselves have not reached the heights of this ideal. Only by working hard to raise their ideological and theoretical levels can these authors improve their works.

As the reform is carried out, our society is undergoing profound changes in many aspects of its life. The new situations, new contradictions, and new problems constantly emerging in real life require that people provide persuasive explanations of them from a theoretical point of view, and even more that authors and artists analyze and assess them independently with their own theoretical thinking. In other words, new situations place even higher demands on artists' mastery of ideological theory. As we have seen, some writers, due to their lack of ideological and theoretical preparation, have not properly understood the many correct principles laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and have no way of grasping the new changes taking place in our lives. When they write, therefore, they adopt the practice of avoiding actual contradictions, especially acute contradictions, or write about contradictions but only scratch the surface of them, or go the other way, writing about "storms in teacups" and superficial things. For other writers, though they want to make an effort to describe the new problems appearing in real life, the limitations imposed by their ideological and theoretical levels lead them subconsciously to see new things through old concepts, so that they express confusion, and even a confusion of right and wrong, in their writings. This is one important reason for the decrease in the proportion of works, for some time now, which have been able to directly reflect the important contradictions in real life and which have also succeeded in moving people. It may be seen that there is a demand for a new improvement in literature and art. Our writers and artists must have the courage to face up to life and expose its contradictions, and must also be able to come to a profound understanding of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to really use these principles to understand life's changes, turning them into the body and soul of creative work. Only in this way will they be able to write superior works which promptly and accurately reflect the new contradictions encountered during the reform.

Some comrades lay particular stress on imagery and look down on theory. They fail to understand that while people's abilities to theorize differ, there is no such thing as absolute blankness. Engels put it well when he said: "However much you despise theorizing, without it, you cannot even link two facts of nature, or you have no way of understanding the link between them. The only question involved here is whether your thinking is correct or not...." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 482) Any writer, no matter how conscious he is, is bound to use some theoretical

concept of the world, society, and man to support his own thinking whenever he observes life and creates art. The seriousness of this question is here: Without correct theoretical guidance, mistaken theory will fill the vacuum; if you are not interested in Marxism, then you will subconsciously be guided or influenced by non-Marxist or even anti-Marxist concepts. These are the facts. Some writers, because they fail to understand the theory of historical materialism, accept the guidance of the theory of abstract human nature, with the result that they write works which suggest that the "god of love" can dissolve all the conflict and antagonism between classes in the world of mankind, and works which play up the horrors of man isolated in the universe. Because they lack the least understanding of the theory of scientific socialism, they use Darwinism and existentialism as theoretical props, and thereby describe in their works our entire reality as a struggle for existence in which man squeezes out man and we are all animals, describing life as a series of dreams. Because they are not interested in any scientific theory, they throw themselves into the arms of religious belief, and in their works turn the history of mankind into a chaotic mess in which it is difficult to distinguish right from wrong, and brazenly demand that people make religion their spiritual refuge. In fact, the proposal to take no interest in any theory and to carry out creative work purely through intuition is in itself a theory, like Vogel's intuitivist philosophy. What is produced under the guidance or influence of this sort of theory are a minority of works which have fallen to a greater or lesser extent into naturalism. All of these works have to a greater or lesser degree gone against the direction and demands of the healthy development of socialist literature and art. The most fundamental way of overcoming these unhealthy tendencies is for all of our writers to arm their minds with Marxist theory, and thus resist modern schools of philosophy from the West and the corruption of all mistaken theories.

From the practice of writing their own works, and from the earnest demand of the masses of the people for outstanding works, our writers and artists are bound to become daily more aware of the urgency and importance of improving their mastery of Marxist theory. This is obvious.

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EXPLANATIONS OF SEVERAL IMPORTANT NOTIONS IN 'SELECTED WORKS OF DENG XIAOPING'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 41-47

[Article by the RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] III. On the Political Line

11. /"To sum up, the political line of our party at the present stage is to carry out the construction of the four modernizations with one heart and one mind."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 240)

(By Duan Rongkui [3008 2837 1145])

The political line of the party is a general line and general task for the party at a certain stage. The 12th CPC National Congress pointed out: "The general task of the CPC in the new historical period is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This is also the political line of the party in the new historical period mentioned by Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

The political line of the party at the present stage has been mapped out gradually and perfected since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is a crystallization of the party's historical experiences and collective wisdom. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made great efforts and has played a main role in mapping out and perfecting the party's political line. As early as in March 1975, when the "gang of four" was running rampant in criticizing the so-called "theory of productive forces," Comrade Deng Xiaoping waged a tit-for-tat struggle against them. He emphasized that the whole party and the whole country must strive for the realization of the great goal of building China into a powerful socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern national defense, and modern science and technology by the end of this century. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly called on people to overcome obstruction and get rid of obstacles in their minds so as to carry out the

construction of four modernizations with one heart and one mind. In March 1979, in his speech delivered at a meeting to discuss principles for the party's theoretical work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping announced that the main task for us at present and for a rather long period to come is to carry out the construction of four modernizations. At the same time, he has also repeatedly pointed out that while building a high degree of material civilization, it is necessary to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization, to develop socialist democracy, and to perfect the socialist legal system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has applied the principles of Marxism, summed up both the positive and negative experiences over the past 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC, and pooled the wisdom of the whole party in formulating the party's political line for the present stage. This political line reflects the strong desires and fundamental interests of the broad masses of cadres and people. It conforms to the realities of our country. Therefore, it enjoys support from the whole party and the people throughout the country.

We can see from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's articles and speeches, as well as from the articles of other central leaders and the party's documents, that although there is a process of gradual perfection, the central idea of the party's political line has always been the construction of four modernizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in the exposition on the political line of our party, a new content of a high degree of democracy and civilization was added to the draft of the revised party constitution. Despite all this, the essence is still the construction of four modernizations. The most important thing is to carry out economic construction, develop the national economy, and develop social productive forces. This must be grasped firmly and must never be held up even for a single day.

Why is the essence of the party's political line at the present stage to carry out the construction of four modernizations?

First, according to Marxist viewpoints, economy is the basis and politics is a concentrated expression of economy. The realization of the four modernizations will play a decisive role in enhancing state power, stabilizing the political situation, and promoting social progress. Obviously, without a powerful economic strength and success in the modernization drive, our country cannot be prosperous and powerful and the material and cultural life of the people cannot be improved. The modernization drive is the basis for us to solve both internal and external problems. In the final analysis, in the struggle against hegemonism in external affairs and in striving for the return of Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland and the reunification of China, we must do a good job in economic construction. At present, if we do not develop our economy, many social problems cannot be solved fundamentally and many factors of instability cannot be eradicated.

Second, realizing the four modernizations is a profound and great revolution. It will inevitably promote the reform and progress of the entire economic base and superstructure. According to the concept that production relations must be suited to the nature of productive forces, in order to

realize the four modernizations, productive forces must be greatly increased. Thus, the production relations and superstructure as well as all forms of management, activity, and ideology which do not suit the development of productive forces, will inevitably be changed so that they can suit the needs of the development of modern economy. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out a series of reforms, including organizational reform and the reform of the economic system. It is necessary to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization and socialist democracy while building a high degree of material civilization. This is an important target of the construction of socialist modernization and a necessary condition for the realization of the four modernizations. Of all these tasks which relate to each other, the central task is to carry out the construction of the four modernizations. Only when we have grasped this central task can we promote the development of our work in all other fields and ensure the fulfillment of the general task of the party at the present stage.

Third, only when a good job is done in the construction of four modernizations and a rapid development of social production is achieved can the people's increasing needs in their material and cultural life be constantly satisfied and the superiority of the socialist system be fully displayed. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The 'gang of four' said that we 'would rather have poor socialism than rich capitalism.' If socialism is always poor, it cannot even survive." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 176) Similarly, only when a good job is done in the construction of four modernizations can we lay a solid material foundation for the transition to communism in the future. Therefore, under such conditions that class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction in our society following the completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the exploiters as classes, taking the construction of the four modernizations as the central task for our work in various fields is in conformity with the objective requirement of the development of socialist society.

The formulation of the political line of the party was a hard-earned result of the serious struggle against the "gang of four" and a result of overcoming both the "leftist" and rightist obstructions. The historical experiences of our party show that after a correct political line is formulated, it will also not be plain sailing in implementing it. Therefore, since the realization of the four modernizations is an important matter concerning the destiny of our country and nation, we must carry it out firmly, resolutely, and with one heart and one mind.

12. /"The central authorities have put forth a fundamental guiding policy of shifting the focus of work of the whole party to the realization of the four modernizations."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 130)

(By Zhang Xuedong [1728 1331 2639])

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee put forth a fundamental guiding policy of shifting the focus of work of the whole party to

the construction of socialist modernization. This is of great significance. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "This is a great turning point in Chinese history. Although we have engaged in socialist construction for many years in the past, it is still fully reasonable for us to say that this is the beginning of a new stage in the development of history." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 145)

Where should our party lay the focus of its work after the proletariat has seized political power? Both the Marxist theories and the practice of the international communist movement have made a clear answer to this question. In their "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Marx and Engels pointed out that when the proletariat becomes the ruling class and has won democracy, it must use its political rule to expropriate the expropriators and to increase the productive forces as soon as possible. Uneven economic and political development is a law of capitalism. As a result, the socialist revolution first succeeded in Russia, which was comparatively more backward in productive forces. Under such circumstances, it was more urgent and of greater significance to shift the focus of work to speeding up the construction of socialist material foundation. Lenin was very clear about this. In March 1918, he put forward the task of shifting the focus from seizing political power to administering the Russian state, and worked out a program for socialist construction. He repeatedly emphasized that raising labor productivity was the most important and most fundamental task. Unfortunately, due to the armed intervention of imperialists and the civil war waged by the bourgeoisie, he was unable to realize this task. Nevertheless, even during the wartime, Lenin never neglected the task of economic construction. He made positive efforts to create conditions for shifting the focus of work of the party to economic construction. At the end of 1920, when the war was over on the whole, he mentioned again the problem of shifting the work focus. In some important speeches, reports, and works, he made brilliant expositions on the great significance of shifting the work focus to economic work, and educated party members to learn to do economic work, to study science, and to endeavor to gain professional proficiency. Beginning in 1921, the period of wartime communism was ended and a new economic policy was adopted. Thus, the shifting of the focus of work was realized and the national economy was restored and developed quickly, which laid an important material foundation for the socialist economic construction in the next period.

The Marxist theory on the shifting of the focus of work is a correct reflection of the law governing the development of socialist society. It is a scientific truth which has been examined by practice. In order to realize the shifting of the focus of work, there must be the following conditions: 1) The proletariat must seize state power and become the ruling class, and the party must become the ruling party. This is the basic premise for the shifting. 2) The resistance of the exploiting class must be crushed and a socialist economic system must be established. There is no foreign aggression and large-scale wars. This is a necessary condition for the shifting of the focus of work. 3) What is more important is that the party must have a correct understanding of the shifting of the focus of work, make a realistic appraisal and analysis on the objective conditions--including

the principal contradiction in our society, the main task, and the situation of class struggle--and on this basis, correctly determine the focus of its work. This is the key to the shifting, which has a decisive significance.

On the question of shifting the focus of work, our party has rich experiences and profound lessons. On the eve of China's liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that from then on, the focus of work of the party should be shifted from the countryside to the cities, that production and construction should become the central task for the whole party and the whole people, and that the other work "must be arranged around this central task and must serve this central task." Moreover, he called on the whole party to study again. As a result of conscientiously implementing the strategic thinking of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong about shifting the focus of work to the development of socialist economy, by the year 1956 we had not only achieved a great victory in the land reform, the movement to suppress counterrevolutionaries, the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the movement against three evils, and the movement against five evils, but had also quickly restored the national economy and basically completed the socialist transformation. At the same time, great achievements had also been made in economic construction during the period of the First 5-Year Plan. The Eighth CPC National Congress scientifically analyzed the internal and external situations and pointed out that the socialist system had, on the whole, been established in our country, that the principal contradiction in China had been changed from the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie to that between the increasing needs of the people in their material and cultural life and the backward social productive forces, and that the main task for the party and the people was to concentrate their strength to develop social productive forces. This shows that conditions were ripe for the whole party to shift the focus of work.

However, since our party had not made sufficient ideological preparations for the swift coming of the socialist society and the nationwide socialist construction and lacked experiences, especially since Comrade Mao Zedong had then changed his previous correct estimation of the situation of class struggle and the political situation of the party and the state, we later committed the "leftist" mistakes in the guiding ideology of economic work and, in political affairs, committed the mistake of broadening the scope of class struggle. Because of all this, the focus of the party's work was not shifted to the construction of socialist modernization. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," socialist construction was more seriously sabotaged by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

In 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the day-to-day work of the central authorities. Despite all difficulties, he made up his mind to get rid of all obstructions and to shift the focus of work of the party and the state to economic construction. The purpose of the consolidation he advocated was to put an end to turmoil and to create a political situation of stability and unity for economic construction. As a result, the national economy was soon revitalized. After the smashing of the "gang of four," since the "leftist" mistakes were not thoroughly corrected, the problem of

shifting the focus of work was unable to be solved straight away. In September 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out again that when the movement to criticize the "gang of four" was about to be accomplished, we should grasp day-to-day work, for a movement could not be carried out endlessly. He also pointed out that the fundamental expression of the superiority of the socialist system is the rapid development of social productive forces so that the people's needs in their material and cultural life can be satisfied step by step. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's propositions represent the long-cherished desires of the people throughout the country. They conform to the objective realities in our country and are adherence to and development of Marxist theory on socialist construction.

Both the positive and negative experiences we have gained since the founding of the state show that whenever our party places the focus of work on economic construction, the socialist cause develops and becomes prosperous, but whenever it deviates from this central task, the socialist cause is bound to suffer setbacks. Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has emphasized repeatedly that it is necessary to make up our minds to realize the shifting of the focus of work to and to concentrate our strength and attention on the construction of the four modernizations. He said: "Now we must make up our minds to consistently do a good job in this respect unless large-scale wars break out. All other work must be arranged around this central task and must not obstruct the fulfillment of this task. Even if a large-scale war breaks out, after the war we must continue to undertake this task and restart it. The whole party and all the people must firmly set up high aims and lofty aspirations. They must be more 'stubborn' and grasp this task firmly and unswervingly." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 213)

13. /"Now we must carry out construction in light of China's conditions and follow a path of Chinese-style modernization."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 149)

(By Gao Zhiyu [7559 2535 3842] and Wang Shaomin [3769 1421 2404])

To proceed from China's realities and carry out revolution and construction in light of China's conditions--this is the guiding ideology running through the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out: "A basic conclusion we have drawn from our long-term historical experiences is to combine the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete realities and follow our own road in building Chinese-style socialism." This is the fundamental guiding ideology in the present construction of four modernizations and strategic thinking for a long time to come in the future.

The unity between theory and practice is a fundamental principle of Marxism. From the day they formulated their theories, Marx and Engels always opposed that people took their theories as dogma. They required that the proletariat in various countries should apply their theories in light of the economic and political conditions in their specific countries when carrying out the revolution, and expound and develop these theories in light of their concrete situations and existing conditions. The most fundamental



reason why Lenin was able to lead the Russian proletariat to win the victory of revolution in an economically and culturally backward country is that he adhered to the principle of combining Marxism with the concrete realities in Russia. He exhorted the Bolsheviks to have a full understanding of the revolutionary conditions. The conditions in France were different from those in England, those in Germany were different from those in France, and those in Russia were different from those in Germany. Therefore, the Marxists in Russia should "study, explore, and conjecture this characteristic" in light of the conditions in Russia so that the problem of combining theory with practice could be solved successfully. In China, the communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as the main representative, applied the universal truth of Marxism with the realities in China and made a penetrating analysis of the characteristics of the semicolonial and semifeudal society. In this way they worked out realistic strategy and tactics and found a correct road for the revolution, that is encircling the cities from the rural areas, and finally achieved the victory of the democratic revolution.

In construction, it is also necessary to proceed from the realities of our country, just as what we did in the revolution. We must realize that along with the development of the objective things, the national situation is also constantly changing. Some methods which were effective during the revolutionary period are not, or not completely, suited to the conditions in the construction period. If we use the concrete experiences gained during the revolutionary wars to guide the present construction in disregard of the current national situation, mistakes will be unavoidable, which will bring about losses to our cause of construction. We must also realize that due to the changes of time, places, and conditions, the concrete laws governing the construction are also different from each other. If we have only grasped some general laws and indiscriminately and mechanically apply them everywhere, we will certainly suffer setbacks and losses in practice. Therefore, just as Comrade Mao Zedong made a penetrating analysis of the laws of the Chinese revolutionary wars in those years, today we must not only grasp the general law governing the construction of modernization, but must also grasp the law governing the construction of socialist modernization and especially study and grasp the law governing the construction of socialist modernization in China. This requires that we should gain a profound understanding of China's national situation in the socialist period. Only thus can we lay a solid foundation for taking the road of building Chinese-style modernization.

All the successes we have achieved and the setbacks we have suffered in our socialist revolution and socialist construction over the past 30-odd years are reflections of our recognition of the national situation in China. In the first 3 years immediately after the founding of the state, proceeding from the fact that we had taken over a shambles from old China, our party firmly grasped the central link--restoring and developing production--to promote the work in the other fields and lost no time in fulfilling the tasks of the democratic revolution in a planned and orderly way. As a result, the national economy was quickly rehabilitated. During the transition period, in light of the economic conditions and the characteristics of

class relations in our country, our party creatively opened up a path for the socialist transformation, which was suited to China's conditions, and made brilliant achievements in this respect. At the beginning of the 1960's, when the national economy was faced with serious difficulties, our party put forward in light of concrete conditions an eight-character policy with readjustment as the central task and adopted a series of correct principles and resolute measures to overcome the difficulties. These policies and measures were later proved to be very effective in practice. As a result, the national economy was rehabilitated and developed smoothly. The remarkable achievements we made in these three periods incontrovertibly prove that whenever we adhere to the principle of proceeding in all cases from China's realities and shooting the arrow, that is, Marxism, at the target--socialist construction in China--our cause is ever victorious. However, the most fundamental reason for the many setbacks in our socialist construction was that we did not have a sober understanding of our basic national situation and did not understand that persevering and arduous efforts are needed in order to thoroughly change the backward situation in the productive forces in the country. For this reason, the "leftist" mistakes, which are characterized by being overanxious for quick results in disregard of the objective realities, were often committed in the guiding policy. Under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we mechanically copied foreign patterns and experiences, lacking profound understanding of the fact that due to the differences in the social system, in the development of productive forces, and in historical conditions, the experiences of other countries, even if they are successful experiences, cannot completely suit our national conditions. Sometimes, proceeding from some abstract "formulas" and concepts, we attempted to surmount the development stages and abolish commodity production and adopt the communist distribution principle in the period of socialism. As a result, things went contrary to our wishes. On some other occasions, we overemphasized the concrete experiences we had gained during the long-term revolutionary struggles and did not conscientiously study the new situation and new problems of the socialist period, expecting that miracles could be created and that we would be able to realize communism through one or two mass movements. This was certainly a fantasy that is divorced from reality. Practice shows that anyone who deviates from the right track of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the realities in China, including Comrade Mao Zedong, a great Marxist, will unavoidably make mistakes and bring about losses to our socialist cause. This is a lesson we should always bear in mind.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has set to right things which had been thrown into disorder, has reestablished the Marxist ideological line characterized by seeking truth from facts, and has revived the tradition of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Deng Xiaoping summed up both the positive and negative experiences we have gained since the founding of the state and, in light of China's conditions, put forward at an appropriate time the task of building Chinese-style modernization. Since we have a correct guiding ideology, over the past few years we have made satisfactory achievements in gaining a correct understanding of our national situation and in exploring the road of building Chinese-style

modernization. In economic affairs, we have worked out a series of correct policies and principles, including upholding the leading position of the state economy and developing and giving play to the role of diverse economic forms, giving play to the supplementary role of market regulation while ensuring the leading role of planned economy, expanding the decision-making power of the enterprises and production teams and adopting diverse forms of production and management responsibility systems while adhering to the principle of centralization, and carrying out the policy of opening to the outside world and expanding economic and technological exchanges with foreign countries on the premise of taking a self-reliant stand and relying on our own hard work. In political affairs, we have set forth the theory and policy on correctly estimating and handling class relations and class struggle still existing within certain limits in the new historical period, developed socialist democracy, and perfected the socialist legal system so that democracy can become a system and be guaranteed by law and so that the people's democratic dictatorship can be more consolidated than ever before. In ideological and cultural affairs and in strengthening the party, we have also effectively solved many important and urgent theoretical and practical problems which have emerged in our practice. All this is the result of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete conditions in China during the period of socialism. Undoubtedly, it is of far-reaching significance in the building of Chinese-style socialism.

To combine Marxism with the practice of the Chinese construction is a long historical course. Conscientiously studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thinking on building Chinese-style modernization in light of China's concrete conditions will certainly help us greatly raise our consciousness in this respect.

14. /"In order to realize the four modernizations in China, we must adhere to the four basic principles in the ideological and political fields. This is a fundamental premise for the realization of the four modernizations."/ ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 150)

(By Ren Yan [0117 1484])

In order to realize the four modernizations, we must adhere to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship--that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat--to the leadership of the Communist Party, and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These four basic principles constitute a common political basis for the unity of the whole party and the people of all nationalities in our country. They are also fundamental guarantees for the smooth progress of the construction of socialist modernization.

Adhering to the four basic principles is not a new question. Our party has always done so. The reiteration by Comrade Deng Xiaoping on this question after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was aimed at solving existing problems. It is of profound practical significance.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee made a strategic decision on shifting the focus of work to the construction of socialist modernization and put forth the policy of emancipating the mind, using the brains, seeking truth from facts, and uniting and looking forward. When our party began to correct the "leftist" mistakes in an all-round way in line with this policy and set to right things which had been thrown into disorder, two erroneous trends which opposed the policy of the third plenary session that appeared in our society. One is the "leftist" trend, that is, some comrades within the party have still been seriously influenced by the ultra-"leftist" ideology of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and a small number of these comrades have even attacked the present policy of the Central Committee as "retrogression." The other is the right trend, that is, a small number of people in our society have taken a skeptical attitude toward, or have even opposed, the four basic principles. With ulterior motives, these people have distorted the policy of emancipating the mind and have attacked the dictatorship of the proletariat and party leadership under the pretext of so-called democracy. They have even organized some secret or semi-overt organizations and colluded with the reactionary forces both at home and abroad, attempting to sabotage the four basic principles so as to break away from the socialist road and to practice the so-called free system of capitalism in the political, economic, and cultural fields. Obviously, these people intend to obstruct the implementation of the policy of the third plenary session and to sabotage the construction of the four modernizations by every possible means. It was under such circumstances that Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated in March 1979 the importance of adhering to the four basic principles and made a profound analysis and forcible exposition on these principles by combining theory with practice. This has played a decisive role in correcting the erroneous views within the party and checking the ideological trend of suspecting and negating the four basic principles. Now, these principles have been written in the constitutions of our party and state and have become codes of conduct for the whole party and the people of the whole country.

Why do we say that adhering to the four basic principles is a fundamental premise and guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations?

First, only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we ensure that our socialist modernization drive develops along the correct orientation. Socialist modernization is entirely different from capitalist modernization. It is based on the public ownership of the means of production with a purpose of satisfying, to the greatest extent, the people's needs in their material and cultural life. Capitalist modernization is, however, based on the private ownership of the means of production with a purpose of grabbing the largest possible profits for the capitalists. Therefore, the progress of capitalist modernization is bound to be followed by the increase of the unemployment rate, economic recession, inflation, turbulence in society, and other incurable diseases of capitalism. The history of capitalist development over the past several centuries shows that capitalism cannot extricate itself from the contradiction between the private ownership of the means of production and production which is becoming more

and more socialized day by day; it cannot extricate itself from exploitation, plunder, and economic crisis and cannot extricate itself from serious crimes, degeneration, and other social crises. Therefore, we must never follow the road of capitalist modernization, which means suffering and pain for the proletariat and the laboring people. What we should follow is the road of building Chinese-style socialist modernization. Some people think that socialism is inferior to capitalism. This is quite wrong. Although we have committed some mistakes, we have made great progress over the past 30 years, which could not be made in old China even in several hundred or several thousand years. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have quickly rehabilitated our economy, which was sabotaged during the 10 years of internal disorder, and enabled it to develop healthily. This proves the superiority of the socialist system. Now, even some bourgeois papers abroad also admit that in the world economic depression, the Chinese economy alone can feel proud and elated. Helmut Schmidt, former West German chancellor, emphasized twice in 1982 that no country, either a developed or a developing country, could extricate itself from depression, but China was an exception. Facts show that socialist modernization is the only correct road for China's social development. If we deviate from the socialist road, China will inevitably go back to the old semicolonial and semifeudalist road and the four modernizations will never be realized. If we do not adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will not be able to defend and realize socialist modernization. Without the leadership of the party, who else could lead us in administering the socialist political, economic, military, and cultural affairs and in realizing the four modernizations? Without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we will not be able to work out correct policies and principles for adhering to the socialist orientation in the construction of the four modernizations and will feel quite helpless in face of the new situation and new problems. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has worked out a series of policies and principles which conform to China's realities and the objective laws, and has made remarkable achievements in practice. This is a result of closely combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice in our country. Facts show that only by adhering to the four basic principles can we ensure that our modernization is of the socialist nature and entirely suits China's conditions.

Second, only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we have a political situation of stability and unity. The core of the four is to adhere to party leadership. Our party takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guiding ideology. It is the force at the core leading the socialist cause and the proletarian dictatorship. Fundamentally speaking, without party leadership, modern China will have nothing at all, of course, including stability, unity, and socialist modernization. Old China was always likened to "a sheet of loose sand." The state of disunity was not ended until our party became the party in power and the core of unity of the whole country. Our historical experiences since the founding of the state have repeatedly proved that once party leadership is weakened or disrupted, the situation of disunity and turbulence appear again. The 10 years of turmoil during the "Great Cultural Revolution" was an example of this.



Since the smashing of the "gang of four," our party has adopted a series of policies and principles and resolute measures to bring order out of chaos. The long-term turbulence of our society was finally ended, and a political situation of stability and unity has appeared. This has enabled the construction of socialist modernization to develop healthily. Although the party leadership has also committed some mistakes, it cannot become a reason for weakening or abolishing party leadership. If we talk about abstract democracy without adhering to the four basic principles and allow some people to "kick away the CPC committees" for the sake of democracy, anarchism will certainly spread everywhere, the political situation of stability and unity will certainly be disrupted, and the four modernizations will never be realized.

Third, only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we build socialist spiritual civilization. The construction of the four socialist modernizations is not only aimed at building a high degree of material civilization, that is, greatly developing material production and raising the level of the people's material life, but also aimed at building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization, that is, greatly developing education, science, and culture and raising the people's ideological, political, and moral levels. This is an important characteristic of socialist modernization, which is different from capitalist modernization. Along with the development of material civilization, capitalist modernization has simultaneously brought about ideological degeneration, moral decadence, and spiritual collapse. In order to prevent these evil consequences of capitalist modernization, we must develop socialist spiritual civilization, which takes communist ideology as its core, so that it can promote the progress of the four modernizations. We must adhere to the four basic principles.

Fourth, only when we adhere to the four basic principles can we swell the ranks of cadres who adhere to the socialist road and who are capable and have professional knowledge. Once the political line is determined, cadres are a decisive factor. This is true not only in the revolutionary war period, but also in the period of the construction of socialist modernization. In order to realize the four modernizations, our cadre ranks must be well-educated and professionally competent. To any post, professional knowledge and skill are needed. Otherwise, they cannot suit the needs of the construction of the four modernizations. However, professionalization and intellectualization must take revolutionization as their premise. As was pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping: "Needless to say, in order to realize the four modernizations in China under the socialist system, our cadre ranks must adhere to the socialist road, must acquire the basic viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, and must abide by party and state discipline." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 225) It is especially important to emphasize this under the new historical conditions, because in our party and our country, in addition to the inherited influences of capitalist and feudal ideologies, due to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and other reasons, and as a result of the implementation of the open-door policy, the infiltration of bourgeois ideology is unavoidable. Therefore, it is necessary to repeatedly emphasize that our cadres must



adhere to the four basic principles. We must heighten our vigilance and overcome the trend of worshipping capitalism and being corrupted by bourgeois ideas while learning from the capitalist society some technologies and management experiences. We must never lose our national pride and our confidence in socialist China. Only thus can our cadres guide the masses in the correct direction in the whole course of realizing the four modernizations and maintain high morale and the style of plain living and hard struggle in all fields of our work.

To sum up, the four basic principles are the foundation of our country. Unswervingly adhering to the four basic principles is the fundamental guarantee for realizing the four modernizations. We must never waver on this point.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT ONLY BY ENRICHING OUR MINDS WITH ALL THE KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN BEINGS CAN WE BECOME COMMUNISTS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 83 pp 47-48

[Article by Zhang Qihua [1728 0796 5478]]

[Text] Following the victory of the October Revolution, the Soviet Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] called on youths to "study communism." How should one study communism and become communists? Some young people hold that as long as they are able to understand a certain amount of knowledge from textbooks and pamphlets about communism or to understand just some conclusions about communism and communist slogans, they will have understood communism and can become communists. In his speech to the Third National Congress of the Soviet Komsomol in October 1920, Lenin seriously criticized this viewpoint. According to his view, such ways of studying communism could only produce communist bookworms and liars. It was under this situation that he put forth this doctrine: "It is only enriching one's brains with all the knowledge of human beings that one will become a communist." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348)

Why did he stress so seriously the importance of the role of knowledge in becoming communists? Because, in order to become communists, it is imperative to master communist theory and practice it. And these two aspects require rich scientific and cultural knowledge.

Communist theory in itself does in no way mean empty slogans; it is a scientific system that has been formed and developed on the basis of consolidating the excellent achievements of all the advanced thinking of the human beings of the previous periods and reforming these achievements. Creators of the communist theory, Marx and Engels, not only critically inherited the fine achievements of German classic philosophy, British classic political economics and French utopian communism, but also profoundly studied a number of branches of natural sciences such as mathematics, physics, geology, astronomy, physiology and anatomy and various technologies and other sciences. This study played a very great role in their theoretical creation. For example, in forming the theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, Marx and Engels largely absorbed the achievements of natural science, particularly the achievements of the three great creations of the evolution of cells and

energy and Darwin's theory of evolution. Their ability to reach the scientific conclusion that capitalism would eventually be eliminated and communism would naturally be realized was closely related to the fact that they had grasped all the knowledge of social and natural sciences that had been created by human beings. Therefore we can say that Marx' and Engels' ideological system was the crystallization of all the knowledge that had already been attained by human beings at that time.

Therefore, in order to understand communism and become communists, we must first of all study and master scientific and cultural knowledge to a certain degree. It will be difficult for those who have only a limited knowledge of social sciences and natural sciences to really understand Marxist theory and grasp and use the objective law of social development in solving problems in socialist construction. Marxism must continue to advance. We will be able to enrich our Marxist theory only when we continue to absorb nourishment from the development of science and culture, and constantly summarize the latest achievements in the development of social and natural sciences.

Communist society cannot be formed just by shouting communist slogans. It can only be realized through grasping the ability of building communism and the latest achievements of modern science and technology. To build communist society will be much more complicated and difficult than destroying the old world. When a revolution is in the stage of destroying the old state apparatus and seizing political power through armed struggles, the main task of the proletariat is to raise the class consciousness of the masses, unite all the forces that can be united, and wage a life-and-death struggle against the class enemy. Even at that time, knowledge of various aspects is required but it is mainly political knowledge and military knowledge. Following the seizure of political power, the proletariat will face the task of building socialism (the elementary stage of communism) and therefore they need wider and higher knowledge. If we do not work hard to grasp the knowledge of modern science and culture, we cannot carry out construction well. Engels said in 1893: "It is necessary not only to grasp and control political machinery but also grasp and control the whole social production and in this aspect, what is required is not resounding expressions but rich knowledge." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 487) Marxism tells us that the development of productive force is a great motive force for the development of society; and the development of a modern productive force to a very great extent relies on the development of science and technology. During the new historical period, we will not be able to grasp and control the whole social production and realize the socialist modernization program unless we are willing to study the knowledge of modern science and technology and the knowledge of management. In this sense, we will be able to take part in the practice of the building of socialism and communism with better results and become true communists as long as we are able to grasp the knowledge of various sciences.

Of course, knowledge of high level science and culture alone does not make communists. A communist must have scientific and cultural knowledge and in addition, he must also have high ideological and political

consciousness; therefore he must step up his training in social practice and communist morality and must be able to grasp the correct stand, viewpoint, and method. In our socialist society, there are comrades with lower cultural level but higher communist consciousness and morality. But we cannot consider that under the historical conditions today, we will be able to become advanced fighters in the building of socialism and communism by remaining on a low cultural level without studying science, technology, and knowledge. It is wrong to think that communist consciousness and morality conflicts with higher cultural level. To review the above-mentioned dictum of Lenin is beneficial for us today in correcting this wrong idea.

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